

The Salem witchcrafts were by no means the earliest occurrences of this nature in the English North American colonies. It is probable that persons were suspected of this odious offence in the very infancy of the colonies; for among the capital crimes prohibited at Plymouth in 1636 was, "Soliman compaction or conversing with the devil by way of witchcraft, conjuration, or the like".

*Drake's Annals of Witchcraft, page 55-6.*

Similar laws were <sup>soon</sup> passed in nearly all these growing communities. There is a plain matter of fact air about <sup>these</sup> singular statutes which suggests that <sup>these</sup> good people looked for such offenders as just as certain to show themselves as thieves and drunkards. They would have thought of

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getting on without ordinances against witches just as little as they would have done without ordinances against slander or sabbath-breaking.

It was not very long before prosecutions and executions began to show themselves under these enactments. The earliest punishment of witches<sup>by</sup> the penalty<sup>of death</sup> is stated to have been inflicted<sup>on</sup> an inhabitant of Windsor at Hartford Ct. in the year 1646; but neither the name of the accused nor any detail of the accusation, trial or punishment<sup>has</sup> survived. The first victim of these laws in the colony of Massachusetts Bay was Margaret Jones, wife of William Jones of Charlestown. People who have looked carefully into the evidence in this case have been led to think her condemnation unreasonable, as she<sup>probably</sup> was<sup>only</sup> rather<sup>too</sup> expert in the use of domestic medicines. The testimony that



Dickens  
Annals  
7. 58.

she had a "malignant touch" under which people were taken with desquams, vomiting, or other violent pains, has an imaginative air. Prosecutions for witchcraft were instituted at Springfield, Northampton, Ipswich, Boston, Portsmouth, Scituate, Hartford, New Haven, Saybrook and Stratford. They spread through <sup>the</sup> other colonies to some extent; for there were arrests and trials in Long Island, New York, <sup>Pennsylvania and Rhode Island.</sup>  
See each of these places in the index of Dickens' Annals of Witchcraft.

These scenes in the American colonies were only reproductions in miniature of what had long been going forward in Europe on an immense scale. The bull of Pope Innocent the Eighth in 1484 prompting and warning all persons in authority to greater <sup>zeal and</sup> vigor in discovering and punishing witches had a very unhappy effect in giving fresh life to <sup>all</sup> measures for rooting out such crimes.

It is recorded on trustworthy authority that forty aged women were put to <sup>death for this offence</sup> the very next year after the papal bull was issued. In the Piedmontese valleys more than a hundred victims perished during a single inquisition; forty-eight were burned at Ravensburg in five years; in the year 1515 five hundred perished at the stake <sup>at Geneva</sup> during three months; in the district of Lorraine alone nine hundred were condemned to be burned to death within fifteen years by a single judge, Renzignis; while in France "almost an infinite number" <sup>"More than a thousand were executed in a single diocese"</sup> were condemned to the flames.

The rage of this most detestable madness was quite as bitter and destructive in England as anywhere. So sober an authority as Dr. William B. Carpenter, <sup>the English physiologist and psychologist,</sup> states that the witch-persecution carried on by James the First, <sup>in Scotland</sup> cost several thousands of persons their lives. Through the nefarious influ-



ence of this unkingly king the Parliament of England passed the well-known Witch Act, whose provisions were found to be fiercely destructive. Not less than seventy thousand persons are estimated to have fallen victims to these hideous enactments in the period between 1603 and 1680. This shows that more <sup>persons</sup> suffered under the baleful influence of these British laws in each of these seventy-seven years than were executed in the American colonies during all the period in which our madness prevailed.

*See W. B. Carpenter's Necromancism, Spiritualism etc. p. 61 and following.*

The European settlers in North America brought with them all the popular traditions about witchcraft, wizzards, the power of Satan over such criminals, the advantages accruing to them over others from Satanic aid, the inevitable end of such big men of the devil, as well as the signs and tokens through which this diabolical possession became known

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Few men of prominence were without some of the numerous books then in circulation which treated of this difficult, obscure but fascinating subject. Such works were sure to pass from hand to hand until their contents had become well and widely known; for our gross but curious forefathers, these volumes had all the interest of fascinating novels. They had absolute faith in the <sup>a profound interest</sup> reality of the facts stated in them, and in the discussions of the principles supposed to underlie <sup>caused</sup> all such transactions. What modern fiction ever raise such emotions of wonder, terror, horror and despair as Cotton Mather's Thaummatographia Pneumatica in the Magnalia Christi Americana.

One consequence of this eager interest of the general public in these peculiar subjects was that every man took careful note of all other men's doings.



In Woodward's "Records of Salem Witchcraft  
Copied from the Original Documents," a full  
exhibit of all records pertaining to the trials for witch-  
craft now on file in the records of Essex County,  
Mass., it is wonderful to see what points are named as  
casting suspicion of <sup>this hateful</sup> crime <sup>alike</sup> on the vile and the hon-  
orable. That Sarah Good "uttered" as she  
turned from the door <sup>of</sup> Rev. Mr. Parris, minister at  
Salem Town, raised the question whether she was  
not a witch; that she had three birds, one of them black  
and one of them <sup>yellow</sup>, showed that familiar spirits perhaps vis-  
ited her in these forms; and that ~~Samuel~~ <sup>Samuel</sup> Abbey,  
after turning spiteful and revengeful  
Sarah Good out of the house she had leased of him, lost  
during the ensuing winter seventeen head of cattle with  
sheep and hogs in the strangest way, showed how dire her  
power could be; <sup>in its ravages</sup> but when Mr Abbey's cow, so sick that

it could not rise alone, was well as soon as <sup>ever</sup> South  
Good was clapped into prison, people drew unkind inferences.

If an honest broom strangely left the house for a tree-top and was pursued thither by a <sup>vagrant</sup> shirt, of course there must be something of witchcraft in all that.

The depositions are sometimes comical reading enough, despite the air of oppressive gravity which spreads itself over the most trivial circumstance as being a feature in the general proof of this direful crime.

Lieutenant John Allen, of Salisbury, was asked by Susanna Martin to haul staves for her. He refused, because his oxen were weak and needed pasture <sup>her work,</sup>. She said he had better have done, as the cattle would never <sup>at her threat,</sup> do him much more service. Enraged, the volient <sup>would</sup> lieutenant railed at Dame Martin as a witch, and <sup>her</sup> have tumbled <sup>not</sup> into a brook head by, had she fled and ~~escaped~~ <sup>escaped</sup>. From



this point the deposition proceeds in these terms:

As he was going home <sup>of his own</sup> <sup>so</sup> ~~one~~ <sup>tried</sup>, that he was forced to unyoke him to get him home. And after they were come home, put the said oxen to Salisbury Beach, where several other oxen <sup>were</sup>, where cattle usually are put, where they had long range of meadow ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> feed on, and where cattle did use to get flesh; but in a few days all the oxen upon the Beach, we found by their tracks, were gone to the mouth of Merrimack River; but, not returned from thence, we thought they were run into said River. But the next day sending to Plum Island, found their tracks there to be come ashore, which tracks they followed to the other end of said Island and a considerable way back again. Then we sat down, being apprised by those that sought them that they did

use all imaginable gentleness to come at some acquaintance with them. Some seemed to attend to this; but all on a sudden they all ran with such violence as if their motion had been diabolical till they came near the mouth of the Merrimack River, and then turned to the right hand and ran straight into the sea.

So that of fourteen good oxen only one was saved. The rest were all cast up some at Cape Ann, some at one place and some at another."

Hence Lieutenant John Allen and his friends are confident that Susanna Martin must be a <sup>with</sup> ~~with~~

One finds so much of low, petty gossip, of malevolent suspiciousness of each <sup>other</sup>, and of ready credence in all mysterious and slanderous neighborhood whisperings, in these records of sworn testimony, that one is ready to infer that those grave Puritans



had itching ears for such disreputable stories. It is not easy to clear our minds of such suspicions until we have clearly recalled to our memories what people then seriously believed concerning such criminals.

*See documents concerning each case in Woodward's Salem Witchcraft.*

They held that the ~~enjoyment~~ <sup>enjoyment</sup> of men made things rather pleasant for <sup>such</sup> evil-doers until the distant day when the ally of evil should find himself its helpless victim. Though they clothed such ideas in coarser forms, their conception of the relation between Satan and his liege was not essentially other than that of Mephistopheles in Faust.

"My friend, thou'lt win, past all pretences,  
More in this hour to soothe thy senses,  
Than in the year's monotony.

That which the dainty spirits sing thee,  
The lovely pictures they shall bring thee,  
Are more than magic show.

Thy scent will be to bliss invited;  
Thy palate thou with taste delighted,  
Thy nerves of touch extatic glow!

Here, an unwearied slave, I'll wear thy tether,  
And to thine every nod obedient be.

When there again we come together

Then shalt thou do the same for me;  
*Taylor's translation Vol. I. page 84.*

These persons were supposed to have been persuaded by some witch to accept the devil for their master. They set their hands to the devil's book, a kind of fiendish counterpart to the book of life. They had promise of all sorts of uncanny and sensual enjoyments in this world. They entered into a league with other witches for opposing all goodness and doing every species of mischief. To them came the devil under the guise of cats, dogs, and birds for <sup>canal society</sup>. The yellow birds



were a favorite disguise for such familiar spirits. The witches were supposed to have teats upon their bodies whereon such <sup>familiar</sup> were suckled. They were sometimes summoned to great meetings of the clan of witches. Thither they sped on broomstick nags in swarming throngs. Acts of worship were paid to Satan by the these unhallowed assemblies, shameful orgies and revels were conducted, and a sacrilegious imitation of baptism and the Lord's supper was observed.

The witches could not <sup>only</sup> blast the fields and wither the crops of their foes but they could lay a spell of disease on man or beast at <sup>their own</sup> will without any provocation whatever, under which life, be it man or animal, withered and shrank up, until merciful death superseded. When they chose, <sup>they</sup> could make little images to represent those they were

fair to torment. These images they kept in convenient places at their homes. They hurt that part of the image which they desired to have feel the pang of torture; and <sup>in their victim</sup> <sup>them</sup> the poor wretch could not contain himself for the severity of his torment. They were not confined to this mode of teasing their victims. They could take the form of dogs, cats, snakes, monkeys and birds, for these fiendish ends; and no vigilance, no bolt, no weapon could exclude such visitors or hinder their spiteful malice in its work.

A few quotations will show under what dreadful apprehensions people spent their lives.

Sarah Holton, in her deposition, states that Rebecca Nurse had become very angry at her husband <sup>when;</sup> on account of a trespass of Holton's pigs on her field. A short time after this, my poor husband going out very early in the morning; as he was



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a coming in again, he was taken with a strange fit in the entry; being struck blind and struck down two or three times; so that when he came to himself, he thought he should never have come into the house any more. And all summer after, he continued in a languishing condition, being much pained at his stomach and often struck blind. But about a fortnight before he died, he was taken with strange and violent fits, acting like our poor bewitched persons... And the doctor that was with him could not find what his disorder was... The day before he died he was very cheery but about midnight he was again seized with violent fits till, the next night about midnight, he departed this life by a cruel death.

William Brown of Salisbury testifies about the treatment of his good wife Elizabeth at the hands

of Susanna Martin:

"The said Elizabeth<sup>th</sup> told this deponent that as she was milking her cow, the said Susanna Martin came behind her and told her that she would make her the miserablest creature for defaming her name at court, and wept grievously as she told it to this deponent.

About two months after, this deponent came home from Hampton, and his said wife would not own him; but said they were divorced, and asked him if he did not meet with one Mr Bent of Abbey in England by whom he was divorced? And from that time to this very day, <sup>she</sup> has been under a strange kind of frensy distemper, inca-



pable of any rational action; though strong and healthy of body... Seponent procured Drs. Fuller and Crosby to come to her for her relief. But they did both say that her sickness was supernatural and no sickness of body but that some evil person had bewitched her.

Samuel Grey states that having seen a woman in a strange <sup>garb</sup> in his house in the night, "He said to her, in the name of God what do you come for? Then she vanished away. So he locked the door again and went to bed; and between sleeping and waking he felt something cold come to his mouth and lips; and thereupon started and looked up, and again did see the same woman with something between both her hands held before his mouth. Upon which

she moved, and the child in the cradle gave a great screech out, as if it was greatly hurt, and she disappeared. Taking the child up we could not quiet it in some hours. From which time the child, that before was a very thriving child, did pine away and was never well; although it lived some months after, yet in a sad condition and so died: sometime after, within a week or less, he did see the same woman in the same garb and clothes that appeared to him as aforesaid. And although he knew not her name before, yet by both her countenance and garb doth testify that it was the same woman that they now call

Bridget Bishop alias Oliver of Salem.

See under these several names in Index to Woodward's Salem Witchcraft.



The records and other testimony show that the magistrates thought it their duty to take frequent notice of the prevalence and evil effects of that terrible crime against <sup>human</sup> society. Ministers often made it the subject of some of their most moving instructions and appeals in the pulpit. Whenever the physicians had an unusually obscure and painful case to manage, their favorite resort was to say that such a person was "under an evil hand," or bewitched. There is not a shadow of evidence in all the papers and books about this perplexing subject to prove that any person <sup>of distinction</sup> in public or private life at that period doubted the popular views in relation to witchcraft.

From what has now been set forth, we shall readily see the reason why in 1692 the eyes of all <sup>New England</sup> men were inspecting so sharply the doings of each member of this society. If the next man we should encounter in the street might have sold himself soul and body to the devil, and if he was only <sup>one</sup> of a vast federation of such lost souls, if these reprobate spirits could burn our houses, kill our cattle, blast our grain, slay our dearest friends or torture them as in living fire, if a look from their eyes could torture the child in his peaceful cradle, and a frown on their faces could render our brightest youth senseless and idiotic, we should show ourselves as eager as those old Puritans ever were to know anything that could protect us from such fearful people and calamities.

1. Salem Witchcraft; by Charles W. Upham, two  
volumes. Boston:

Wiggins and Lunt.

1867.

2. Records of Salem Witchcraft,

Copied from the  
Original Documents,

Two volumes.

Privately printed for  
W. Elliot Woodward, Roxbury, Mass.

MDCCCLXIV.

3.

The  
History  
of

Massachusetts

from the

First Settlement thereof



in 1628

11.

until the year 1750.

By Thomas Hutchinson, Esq.  
Late Governor of Massachusetts.  
In two volumes.

The Third Edition

Printed at Salem  
by Thomas C. Cushing,  
For Thomas and Andrews, No. 45. Newbury Street, Boston.

1795.

4.

Annals

of

Witchcraft in New England  
and elsewhere in  
The United States.

From their first Settlement.

Drawn up from unpublished and other well  
Authenticated records of the alleged operations of  
Witches and their investigator, the Devil.

By Samuel G. Drake.

Boston

W. Elliot Woodward,  
258 Dudley Street  
MDCCCLXIX.

5. Salem Witchcraft:  
comprising  
More Wonders of the Invisible World,  
Collected by Robert Calef;  
and  
Wonders of the Invisible World  
by Cotton Mather;  
Together with Notes and Explanations  
by Samuel P. Fowler.

Boston:  
William Kazier.  
MDCCCLXV.

6. Vermischte  
Schriften  
größtentheils  
apologetischen Inhalts

von  
A. Tholuck.

Erster Theil.

Hamburg,  
bei Friedrich Perthes.

1839.

7. The  
Psychology  
of the  
Salem Witchcraft Excitement  
of

1692



V.  
and its practical application to our own time

By

George M. Beard, A. M. M. D.

New York

G. P. Putnam's Sons

27 and 29 West 23<sup>d</sup> Street

1882.

8.

Fasting Girls

Their Physiology and Pathology

By

William A. Hammond, M. D.

New York

G. P. Putnam's Sons

182 Fifth Avenue

1879

Salem Witchcraft etc  
by W. F. Poole  
The North American Review  
for April 1869

Salem Witchcraft and Cotton Mather,  
by C. W. Upham  
The Historical Magazine for September 1869.

9.

Principles  
of  
Mental Physiology  
with their applications to  
The Training and Discipline of the Mind,  
and  
The Study of its Morbid Conditions.

By

William B. Carpenter. M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.,  
F.L.S., F.G.S.

New York:

D. Appleton and Company.  
549 & 551 Broadway.

1874.

10.

Mesmerism, Spiritualism, &c.



VIII.  
Historically and Scientifically Considered  
Being Two Lectures  
Delivered at the London Institution  
with Preface and Appendix

By  
William B. Carpenter C. B., M. D.,  
L.L.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., V.P.L.S.  
etc.

New York:  
D. Appleton and Company.  
549 and 551 Broadway  
1877.

It was in such an atmosphere of thought, opinion and sentiment that the events of the Salem Witchcraft showed themselves.

Mr Upham states, without giving his authority, that at Salem Farms "during the winter of 1691 and 1692 a circle of young girls had been formed, who were in the habit of meeting at the house of Rev. Mr. Parris, for the purpose of practicing palmistry and other arts of fortune-telling, and of becoming experts in the wanders of necromancy, magic and spiritualism". Of this group were Elizabeth Parris, the minister's nine year old daughter; Abigail Williams, niece of Mr Parris, eleven years old, and living at the parsonage; Ann Putnam, twelve years of age, and the child of Sergeant Thomas Putnam, parish-clerk; Mary

See Upham  
Work vol.  
II. page 2 and  
following.

Walcott, seventeen years old and daughter of a  
 very estimable man, Mr Jonathan Walcott;  
 Mercy Lewis, who had lived <sup>in</sup> several families, among  
 which was that of Rev Geo Burroughs; Elizabeth  
 Hubbard, seventeen, a niece of Mrs. Dr. Griggs,  
 and an inmate of the Griggs household; Su-  
<sup>the local physician's</sup> ~~sanna~~ <sup>wife,</sup> Sheldon and Elizabeth Barth, members of  
 families in the vicinage; Mary Warren, twenty  
 years old, servant to John Proctor; and Sarah  
 Churchill, also twenty, and servant to George Jacobs.

With these chief accusers of the portents com-  
 plained of for witchcraft, <sup>in solemn</sup> were associated to  
 some degree three married ladies, not yet  
 beyond early mid-life: Mrs Anna Putnam  
 mother of the girl of the same name, Mrs Pope,  
 and Mrs Bibber held to belong in Wenham.



A statement of the proceedings had in any witch trial at Salem is substantially an exhibition of the measures taken in all. The trial of the Rev. George Burroughs, one of the predecessors of Samuel Parris in the ministry at Salem Farms, will be set forth here as a specimen of all. For greater convenience we shall first <sup>give</sup> such testimony as falls under the notice of persons not under the spell of witchcraft, about things which come under the notice of ordinary and natural powers of observation; and then that which comes from bewitched persons about things seen and known by such witnesses alone. For, all the transactions between satan and witches, between different witches, and between witches and persons by them afflicted with witchcraft, were secret and invisible to the ordinary spectator in his normal <sup>condition</sup>. Such

things might go on under the very noses of those who were not bewitched without the faintest suspicion of the facts being aroused. The devil could not be put on the stand to betray his confederates, even if one could imagine that any oath could possess coercive force enough to wring a little truth from the conscience of the Father of lies. Witches have sometimes been known to swear away one another's lives, but such events were far too rare at best for officers of justice to depend on them for <sup>the</sup> public security against the malice of wizzards.

But persons afflicted with witchcraft were supposed to be able to converse at will with wizzards, to learn from their own admissions and boasts their Satanic assaults upon men, and see them about their revengeful and destructive errands. If the bewitched could be permitted to give these facts com-

municated to them by witches and sometimes by spectres who declared themselves the murdered victims of witches, there would be no lack of evidence to prove the alleged crime. These allegations of witches and ghosts to the afflicted - witches and ghosts invisible, inaudible and inaccessible to sheriffs, juries and magistrates - are what is known in these trials as the "spectral testimony." The oath of one of the victims of witchcraft could at the best only assure us that he had received from witches, ghosts and devils the statements offered in court; but could afford no certainty that devil and spectre had told the truth. It is needful to bear in mind <sup>this difference</sup> between the spectral and the other ordinary evidence in order to understand what may be said about these trials.



Burroughs was examined before the Honored William Stoughton, John Hawthorne, Samuel Sewall, and Jonathan Corwin, Esquires. He was asked, when none of the bewitched were present, why he did not attend sacrament, and why none of his children, except the eldest, was baptised? His answers are not given. But he ~~denied~~ that his house at Basco Bay was haunted, though he owned <sup>were</sup> that there <sub>x</sub> toads there. He stated that he never had bound his wife under solemn oath not to disclose his secrets or write to her father Buck without his approval of her letters.

When Mr Burroughs entered the room where the bewitched persons were, many, if not all of them, were grievously tormented. Being asked what he thought of their tortures, he responded that it was an amazing and humbling providence but that he understood nothing of it.

And he added, some of you may observe that when they begin to speak my name they cannot name it. Yet "the Bewitched" were so tortured that Authority ordered them to be taken away, some of them".

The prisoner was a very small man but wonderfully tough and athletic. On his trial this fact was turned against him through reports of incredible feats of strength performed by him. Such accounts were held to show that Burroughs had performed deeds so far beyond the power of the strongest men, that only diabolical aid could explain them.

Captain Wormwood testified about the gun and molasses stories. Burroughs denied the story about the molasses. He said that he had taken up <sup>gun</sup> the before the lock and rested it on his breast. He declared that his family were not frightened by a white calf in his

house. John Brown testified about a barrel of cider. Burroughs is not said to have denied this story; but <sup>we</sup> may safely assume that he did, as it was just as preposterous as that about the molasses. Captain Putnam testified that Burroughs made his wife enter into a covenant to keep his secrets. A jury was appointed to search the body of Burroughs for any <sup>for cracking familiar spirits</sup> teats. Their report covered also the case of another victim, and is given here to show <sup>in such matters</sup> the usage.

"We, whose names are underwritten, having received an order from the sheriff to search the bodies of George Burroughs and George Jacobs, we find nothing on the body of the said Burroughs but what is natural. But



upon the body of George Jacobs we find three  
teats which we think not natural; for we  
saw a pin through two of them, and he was not  
sensible of it. One of them is inside his mouth  
on his right cheek, the second upon his right  
shoulder-blade, and a third on his right hip.  
Ed. Welch, William Gill, Zeb. Hill, John  
Flint, John West, Sam. Morgan, John Bare.

Samuel Webber swore that "about  
seven or eight years ago, I lived at Casco  
Bay, and George Burroughs <sup>there,</sup> was then minister,  
and I heard much of the great strength of him,  
the said Burroughs. He coming to our house, we  
were in discourse about the same, and he then  
told me that he had put his fingers into the bung of

a barrel of molasses and lifted it up, carried it around him, and set it down again.

Thomas and John Greenflect and <sup>8 rows</sup> Thomas testify that <sup>they</sup> had witnessed <sup>facts like</sup> the marvelous exploit of lifting a barrel of molasses with only two fingers inserted in the bung. Another had seen him handle a barrel of meat in <sup>free and</sup> the same easy way. Thomas Greenflect and Major Brown had seen him lift up a gun of six-foot barrel or thereabouts, putting the forefinger of his right hand into the muzzle of the gun and hold it out at arm's end, only with that finger. Hannah Horris and Thomas Ruck testified that, when Mr Burroughs came into the house suddenly after them, he could tell

their thoughts and what they had been saying.

Hannah Horris also said that Burroughs often told his wife he <sup>knew</sup> what she had said when he was out doors, that he once kept Mrs Burroughs standing so <sup>long</sup> by discourse, two weeks after her confinement, that she fell ill and seemed about to die, that Burroughs' daughter had told somebody that this severity made her mother sick, and that Burroughs had asked Mrs Horris not to report <sup>back</sup> his wife's <sup>to</sup> any one. Horris refused.

These were all the matters of fact alleged against Mr. Burroughs at the trial which were known <sup>by</sup> the natural faculties of the witnesses. They were denied by him on his oath or so <sup>far</sup> modified as to bring them into the



voluntarily of probability. He swore that <sup>he</sup> had taken up the heavy gun by the barrel before the lock, set its butt against his breast and so raised it as to sight it. He no doubt denied all the stories about taking and swinging about him the barrel of cider and a barrel of meat as he <sup>is</sup> known to have done that about the molasses-cask. Simon Willard confirmed Mr Burroughs' account of the way in which he had handled the gun.

In our days these stories would be ample to convict the witnesses against Burroughs of lying and perjury, though not sufficient to give any support to the crime alleged against him.

Even though the Court gave them full credit, and refused faith <sup>to</sup> the assertions of the accused,

the laws then in force and the practice of the  
Courts under them <sup>a verdict of guilty</sup> did not justify. Yet the  
points aimed at in this testimony, if established,  
would raise a suspicion of witchcraft. Witches  
had renounced the Christian faith, and hence would  
not reverence the <sup>holy</sup> sacraments. That ~~toads~~ were found  
in his house at Basco Bay was probable evidence  
that familiar spirits visited <sup>him</sup> under that disguise.  
The white calf which was said to have frightened  
the family was, perchance, only another familiar of the  
evil parson. Why should a man swear his wife not to  
reveal his secrets, unless there were diabolical  
ones to be hid, or force her to show him all her  
letters to her father, unless he had his fears that they  
would expose him to suspicion? The wonderful

feats of strength, as narrated in court, would be surer than to suggest fiendish aid to the performer than fiendish perjury in the witnesses.

Yet no court composed of men as honest and religious as those before whom Burroughs appeared <sup>to death</sup> alone, could have condemned him <sup>on such evidence</sup>.

The "spectral testimony" must have influenced the authorities very differently. Let us next see what this kind of evidence was.

It was the universal opinion that the bewitched <sup>victims</sup> could see the witches about their fiendish work, when others could not see them. They knew when these criminals were working in their own person and when in some human or animal disguise. They



would sometimes tell each <sup>other</sup> and sometimes disclose to the court acts of <sup>craft</sup> witch that were going on in the court-room <sup>or</sup> at the homes of people remote from the scene of the trials; though all these actions were invisible to everybody else. They would wither in the greatest anguish in the presence of the court, and then disclose who their unseen torturers were. They would sometimes announce that such or such a <sup>craft</sup> witch was on the way to torment some or all of the afflicted. These predictions were sure to be fulfilled at once in such a way as to interrupt the proceedings and fill the court and spectators with mingled horror, sympathy, and fear.

On the other hand, the accused had full

power over their victims. Their glance tumbled them upon the floor, writhing in terrible fits of mental and physical anguish.

Three depositions will suffice to show the spectral facts testified to in the averments of the bewitched actors in the trials.

Ann Putnam testifies: and says:

"On the third of May 1692, at evening, I saw the apparition of Mr. George Burroughs who grievously tortured me and urged me to write in his book, which I refused. Then he told me that his first two wives would appear to me presently, and tell me a great many lies; but I should not believe them. Immediately appeared to me the forms of two women in wind-

ing sheets and napkins about their heads; at which I was greatly affrighted. They turned their faces towards Mr Burroughs and looked very red and angry and told him that he had been a cruel man to them and that their blood did cry for vengeance against him, and also told him that they should be clothed with white robes in heaven, when he should be cast into hell; and immediately he vanished away. As soon as he was gone, the two women turned their faces towards me and looked as pale as a white wall; and told me they were Mr Burroughs' two first wives, and that he had murdered them. One told me she was his first wife



and he stabbed her under the left arm, and put a piece of sealing wax on the wound. She pulled aside the winding sheet, and showed me the place, and also told me she was in the house Mr Parris now lived in, when it was done. And the other told me that Mr Burrroughs and that wife whom he hath now, killed her in the vessel as she was coming to see her friends; because they would have one another. They both charged me to tell the magistrates these things before Mr Burrroughs' face, and, if he did not own it, they did know but they should appear there. This morning Mrs. Lowsan and her daughter, Ann, whom I knew, appeared to me, and

told me that Mr Burroughs murdered them. This morning, also, appeared to me another woman in a winding sheet, and told me she was Goodman Fuller's first wife, and that Mr Burroughs killed her because there was some difference <sup>about lands</sup> between her husband and him. Also on the 9<sup>th</sup> of May during his examination he did most grievously torment and afflict Mary Walcott, Mercy Lewis, Elizabeth Hubbard and Abigail Williams by pinching, pricking, and choking them.

The murdered Mrs Lawson and her daughter were the wife and child of Rev. Deodatus Lawson, <sup>Solomon Farmer</sup> the immediate predecessor of Parris in the parish.

Elizabeth Hubbard, seventeen years old,  
says that last second day at night:  
There appeared a little black haired man to me  
in blackish apparall. I asked his name,  
and he told me it was Barrroughs. Then he  
took a book out of his pocket, and opened it  
and bid me set my hand to it. I told him I  
would not; the lines in this book were as  
red as blood; then he pinched me twice and  
went away. The next morning he appeared  
to me again and told me he was above a  
wizzard, for he was a conjuror; and so  
went away. But since that he hath appeared  
to me every day and night and urged me to set  
my hand to his book and to run away, telling  
me if I would do so, I should be well and not



need to fear anybody; and withal tormented  
me several <sup>ways every</sup> time he came except that time  
he told me he was a conjuror: this night he  
asked <sup>me</sup> very much to set my hand to his  
book or else he said he he would kill me;  
withal torturing me very much by biting,  
pinching, squeezing my body and running pins  
into me. Also on the 9<sup>th</sup> of May 1692, being  
the time of his examination, Mr George Bur-  
roughs, or his appearance, did most grievously  
torment and afflict the bodies of Mary Wal-  
cott, Mercy Lewis, Ann Putnam, and  
Abigail Williams; for, if he did but look at  
them, he would strike them down or almost  
choke them to death; also several times

since he has most dreadfully afflicted  
and tormented me with a variety of torments,  
and I believe in my heart that Mr George  
Burroughs is a dreadful wizzard."

Deliverance Hobbs confessed herself a  
covenant witch, was warned to a meeting  
yesterday morning, and says those present  
were Doctor and his wife, Goody Nurse, Giles  
Corey and his wife, Goody Bishop alias  
Oliver. Mr Burroughs was the preacher and  
preped them to bewitch all the village, telling them  
to do it gradually and not all at once, assuring them  
they should prevail. He administered the sac-  
rament to them at the same time with red  
bread and red wine like blood. She affirms she

saw Osburn, Sarah Good, <sup>and</sup> Goody Wilds;  
 Goody Nurse and Goody Wilds distributed  
 the bread and wine, and a man in a  
 long crowned white hat, sat next the  
 minister. They seemingly sat at a table and  
 filled out the wine in tankards. The notice of  
 this meeting was given her by Goody Wilds.  
 She herself would not eat or drink; all the rest  
 did and they threatened to torment her. The  
 meeting was in the pasture by Mr Parris'  
 house. She says that Goody Wilds, to persuade  
 her to sign, told her she would give <sup>her five</sup> clothes if she  
 would sign the book."

*See the affidavits given under each name in Woodworth's "Salem Witchcraft."*

There was more of this spectral testimony  
 against Mr Burroughs which would show him



up as one of the blackest knaves on record, if the same probative value was given to this as to the other evidence.

What value should be attached to it was the critical question before the Court. There had already been some doubt and debate about its worth amongst the leading men of New England before the proceedings were had at Salem. There were men who did not think it lawful or safe to put any man to death on such unusual evidence. A long letter had been addressed to ~~Jonathan~~ Corwin, one of the judges before whom <sup>the trials</sup> were held, dated at Salisbury Aug. 9<sup>th</sup>, 1692, and signed R.P., discussing the value of such proof. The author is supposed to have been Robert Pike, an eminent and honored citizen of Salisbury. This letter accepted the usual opinions about the person, power and attributes of Satan, and, from that standpoint, controverted and demolished the principles on which the court was proceeding in regard to the spectral evidence and the credibility of the afflicted children." *See Upham vol. II. page 447.*

Judge Corwin probably showed this paper to his colleagues. The leading minds amongst the clergy were persuaded that such a course would be fraught with injustice to individuals and peril to the colony. Willard, Moody, Bailly, <sup>increase</sup> ~~the two~~ Mather <sup>ministry</sup> ~~with other~~

were known to shore these moderate and salutary views. Had they prevailed, the saddest page in our annals had never been written. It was a situation where a clear-headed and heroic judge would have won imperishable fame.

But unfortunately Chief-justice Stoughton was not a man of this exalted type. He showed himself a man of narrow understanding, tenacious will and jealous temper. Before the trials came on some people apprehended trouble from his influence as Chief-magistrate of that Court. This apprehension was vigorously expressed in a letter from a Liverpool gentleman to Increase Wadsworth, president of Harvard College:

"All that I speak with <sup>wonder</sup> much, that any man, much less a man of such abilities, learning, and experience as Mr Stoughton, should take up a persuasion that the Devil cannot assume the likeness of an innocent, to afflict another person. In my opinion it is a persuasion utterly destitute of any solid reason to render it so much as probable."

This unreasonable idea was enforced by Chief-justice Stoughton in the deliberations of the justices and in his instructions to the juries. Such a ruling made convictions inevitable in any case where one or more witnesses made oath that witches had appeared.



to them in the form of any member of the community. Against such an accusation there could be no sure defence. It put an instrument of fatal power into the hands of any witness who was crazy enough in those delirious days to fancy or wicked enough to pretend that a witch had visited himself in the shape of the victim of such finchlike malice.

Convictions went on under this ruling until twenty persons had lost their lives, and one hundred and fifty lay in prison under sentence of death. Suspicion spread everywhere, and no end to the dreadful tragedy would have appeared, had not the Governor and Council interfered to suspend proceedings. Yet Stoughton still adhered to the validity of the "spectral testimony" so resolutely that during the session of the Court at Charlestown when word was brought that a reprieve was sent to Salem, and had saved some of the condemned, he cried out: "we were in a fair way to have choked the land of them; who it is that obstructs the course of justice I do not know; the Lord be merciful to this country." Upham II. vol. page 364

Stoughton was so deeply offended that he at once left the bench, and never sat again in that Court. When he heard that Judge Sewall, one of his associ-



in the tragedies at Salem, "at a public fast gave in a bill to the minister, acknowledging his error in the late proceedings, and desiring to humble himself in the sight of God and his people," Stoughton observed for himself that, when he sat in judgment he had the fear of God before his eyes, and gave his opinion according to the best of his understanding. It is quite evident that God could <sup>answer</sup> only Stoughton's prayer that the Lord's mercy might visit the land by taking the trials for witchcraft out of the hands of this honest but narrow-minded and unrelenting judge.

The records of the trials show that the officers of the Court tolerated others and <sup>themselves</sup> indulged in practices which cast a very sad light upon the then prevalent judicial proceedings. There was a shocking neglect of forms of trial which <sup>always</sup> have been found indispensable for the safeguard of assailed innocence. The justices acted as though they had taken an oath to convict all the prisoners at the bar. Mr. Upham says:

"They..... put leading and ensnaring questions to the prisoners, adopted a browbeating deportment towards them, and pursued <sup>them</sup> with undisguised hostility. They assumed their guilt from the first, and en

deavored to force them to confess; treating them  
 as obstinate culprits because they would not. Every  
 kind of irregularity was permitted. The Marshal  
 was encouraged in perpetual interference to pre-  
 judice the persons on trial, watching and reporting  
 aloud to the court every movement of their hands,  
 or heads or feet.... Accusers were allowed to make  
 private communications to the judges and magistrates  
 before or during the hearings. The presiding officers  
 showed off their smartness in attempts to make  
 the persons on trial before them appear at a disad-  
 vantage. In some instances, as in the case of Sarah  
 Good, the magistrates endeavored to decieve the  
 accused by <sup>mis</sup>representing the testimony given by another.  
 The people in and around the court-room were  
 allowed to act the part of a noisy mob by clamors  
 and threatening outcries; and juries were overawed  
 to bring in verdicts of conviction, and rebuked from  
 the bench if they exercised their rightful preroga-  
 tive without regard to public passions.

The sad consequences of such a state of things in courts <sup>of law</sup>  
 are pathetically set forth in "The Humble Request of Mary  
 Easty and Sarah Cloyse to the Honored Court <sup>[which]</sup> <sup>of law</sup> Lumbe-  
 yhoweth, that whereas we two sisters Mary Easty and



Sarah Cloyse stand now before the honored Court charged with suspicion of witchcraft, our humble request is, that seeing we are neither able to plead our own cause, nor is counsel allowed those in our condition, that you who are judges, would please to be of counsel to us, to direct us wherein we stand in need. . . . And "that the testimony of witches or such as are afflicted, as is supposed, by witches may not be improved to condemn us, without other legal evidence concurring. We hope the honored Court and jury will be so tender of the lives of such as we are, who have lived many years under the unblemished reputation of Christianity as not to condemn them without a fair and equal hearing of what may be said for us as well as against us." *See their petition, page 46, Vol. II Woodward's Salem Witchcraft.*

It may have been after such a transaction as this had been solemnly recalled to his memory that Mr. Justice Sewall was led to ponder how it would fare with him if the supreme Judge in the Great Affairs whose decisions are irrevocable, should remember <sup>our</sup> human petitions that He "would please to be of counsel to us, to direct us wherein we have need," no more compassionately than the best of earthly judges ever do. Here are the seeds of that earthly sorrow in Sewall of which Whittier has us such a

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a striking picture in the "Prophecy of Samuel Sewall":  
"Touching and sad, a tale is told,  
Like a penitent hymn of the Psalmist old,  
Of the fast which the good man life-long kept  
With a haunting sorrow that never slept,  
As the circling year brought round the time  
Of an error that left the sting of crime,  
When he sat on the bench of the witchcraft courts,  
With the laws of Moses and Hale's Reports,  
And spake in the name of both, the word  
That gave the witch's neck to the cord,  
And piled the oaken planks that pressed  
The feeble life from the warlock's breast!  
All the day long, from dawn to dawn,  
His door was bolted, his curtain drawn;  
No foot on his silent threshold trod,  
No eye looked on him save that of God,  
As he baffled the ghosts of the dead with charms  
Of penitent tears, and prayers and psalms,  
And with precious proofs from the sacred word  
Of the boundless pity and love of the Lord,  
His faith confirmed and his trust renewed  
That the sin of his ignorance, sorely sued,  
Might be washed away in the mingled flood  
Of his human sorrow and Christ's dear blood!"



But we should carefully temper our condemnation of these mischievous proceedings by the equitable reflection that probably no court ever sat in America whose action was swept away from the even poise of absolute justice by so many perverting influences.

First amongst these blinding forces was the universal faith in the reality of witchcraft. Probably there was not a physician, lawyer, clergyman, educator or magistrate in the North American Colonies who seriously doubted that thousands of witches were scattered throughout all Christian countries. The men of today do not believe in gravitation any more firmly than the men of the seventeenth century <sup>believed</sup> in witchcraft. So powerful a faith in the potency of the wizzard's arts could not fail to keep the minds of <sup>men</sup> alive to <sup>the</sup> possibility of coming under their baleful spells in one's own person or in the person of friends.

Good men felt it necessary to be alert for every sign of its malign operation in all cases of remarkable disease, mysterious accident, and unnatural death.

In the seventeenth century there was a much larger dependence upon courts and magistrates for the general welfare than is found amongst ourselves. Hence the

authorities took the lead in all measures for the detection of crime and the punishment of offenders. The people felt that the government owed them all possible protection against the misdeeds <sup>of known</sup> and the plots of concealed enemies; and this sentiment in the public bred a corresponding sense of duty in the magistrates.

The terrible reality of the sufferings of the afflicted persons must have given a marvellous intensity to the conviction of the magistrates that they <sup>somehow</sup> ought to protect these wretched victims of Satanic malice. To officers of justice the appeal which came from these helpless sufferers, for aid against their torturers was most touchingly pathetic.

They saw the accusers in the very presence of the officers of the law undergo every form of physical anguish which wizzards were thought to inflict on their hapless victims. These young women would begin to tremble and grow pale. Suddenly they would be struck down on the floor, bereft of hearing and speech. There they would lie with eyeballs fixed or retorted in their sockets, with muscles rigid and stiffened as though lifeless, or twisted into unnatural contortions. Their teeth would <sup>be</sup> set and their fists clenched as if in convulsive fits. They would go through agonies of



choking and strangulation, gasp for breath, froth at the mouth, blood at <sup>the</sup> nose and mouth, pass from ap-  
parent apathy to the most violent exhibitions of emotion.  
They shivered before apparitions seen by none save  
themselves, they held colloquies with the wizzards in  
the court-room, and they received the avowals of the  
disembodied spirits who were thronging about an  
earthly tribunal to bring down condign punish-  
ments upon the heads of honest citizens and reputable  
church-members for skillfully concealed murders.  
They exhibited parts of their bodies where appeared the  
marks of being pinched, bitten, beaten, pounded, pricked  
with pins and needles. They showed ~~the~~ needles, pins and  
blades which were said to have done the mischief  
on their bodies.

These woful distresses always came upon  
the accused whenever the eyes of the witches were turned  
in their direction. In numerous instances the justices  
directed the accused to look at the wizeresses. No sooner  
was this order obeyed than some would fall prostr-  
ate on the ground, while any that retained their seats  
suffered in some other <sup>under</sup> shape, these mysterious inflictions.  
If a witch lifted up his hands to call on God to at-  
test his innocency, the lifted hand tumbled people to the floor.

If a witch turned his his head in any direction the heads of the afflicted were sure to turn the same way. Persons set to watch the conduct of these various parties reported that when matters were so arranged that the girls could not observe the proceedings of the wizzards, the latter's glance smote down its victims just as surely as when all were fully aware of what was to be done.

It was the common belief at that period that if the witch was brought <sup>into</sup> corporal contact with these tormented sufferers, the latter would at once find perfect relief from their troubles. But this had to be managed with some care, because victim and tormentor had to be brought into contact in such a way as <sup>to</sup> keep the fatal eye of the latter where it could not again <sup>exert</sup> its prostrating energy. As the constables carried the afflicted persons <sup>to the</sup> witch and the hand of the latter was <sup>drawn backward and</sup> laid on their flesh, the spasms would cease, the eyes open, the color return to the cheeks, the limbs regain self control and vigor, and the mind resume its sway. This experiment was oft repeated and the result was invariable. It is no wonder that the innocent <sup>the</sup> were amazed and <sup>the</sup> jury men sadly puzzled over it. How natural the feeling in the members of the Court



that they must do something to shelter the sufferers before them from further suffering!

The justices and jurymen all knew that there was no evidence before the Court which could convict a solitary person of that hideous crime <sup>of witchcraft</sup>, unless the "spectral testimony" was allowed. The lawyers knew <sup>that</sup> spectral evidence was second-hand evidence; and must remain such until Satan and his wizzards could be brought <sup>to</sup> the stand for examination. To accept such witnesses made it impossible to cross-examine them; and was to depend in the last analysis on the <sup>bare</sup> word of Satan and <sup>his</sup> witches, the very offscourings of the realm of darkness and lies. Such witnesses could not be sworn on the Holy Bible like others nor could the administration of any oath be any protection against the Father of lies and his knavish imps.

See W. P. M. vol II. passage.

Yet the officers of the law knew of no other way to confront and overcome the power of witchcraft. So they did evil that good might come as thousands of well meaning judges and juries had done before them. If we condemn them for their course, we should thank heaven that we ourselves have never been appealed to by so many potent forces to take a doubtful step to secure an unquestionable good for others.

But what judgment are we to form concerning the accusers in these mysterious trials? That little group of about a dozen girls, varying in age from nine to twenty years, whom ~~w.~~ saw gathering at the house of Rev. Samuel Paris to gain proficiency in the arts of fortune-telling, have all become known to the world in no very enviable way. They have become a sad perplexity to all who have written upon this subject.

It is unanimously agreed that the accused were entirely guiltless of the charges brought against them. Even those who confessed that they were witches, though they admitted that they were really covenant witches, have been acquitted in spite of their



own admissions. Over the accusers, however, a greater perplexity has prevailed because the acquittal of the accused seems to involve the assumption that a blacker crime than witchcraft was committed by half a score of young girls. In Mr. Upham's work we find him driven to assume that they were <sup>sometimes</sup> insane. But he cannot consistently carry through so wild a view, and therefore falls back on the theory that they began the business in roguish fraud, and soon found themselves forced to swear away the lives of scores of people, and to face the prospect of swearing away <sup>the lives of</sup> as many more. Mr. Upham's general view <sup>the matter</sup> of may be stated in the following words:



It is almost beyond belief that they were wholly actuated by deliberate and cold-blooded cruelty. Their crime would, in that view, have been without a parallel in monstrosity of wickedness, and beyond what can be imagined of the guiltiest and most depraved natures. For myself, I am unable to determine how much may be attributed to credulity, hallucination and the delirium of excitement, or to deliberate malice and falsehood. There is too much evidence of guile and conspiracy to attribute all their actions and declarations to ~~delusion~~; and their conduct throughout was stamped with a bold assurance and audacious bearing. With one or two slight and momentary exceptions, there was a total want of compunction or commiseration, and a reckless

disregard of the agonies and destruction they were scattering around them. They present a subject that claims and will forever task, the examination of those who are competent to fathom the mysteries of the human soul, sound its depths, and measure the extent to which it is liable to become wicked and devilish." Upham Vol. II. p. 4.

No discussion can successfully deal with the witchcraft delusion, unless along with the acquittal of the accused from the crime charged upon them, it gives an intelligent and humanly probable account of the behavior of the accusing girls. None who has written on this subject has successfully attempted this <sup>task</sup>. To say they were sometimes insane is absurd; for they should have been insane all through those dark and awful days, and never afterwards

disregard of the agonies and destruction they were scattering around them. They present a subject that claims and will forever task, the examination of those who are competent to fathom the mysteries of the human soul, sound its depths, and measure the extent to which it is liable to become wicked and devilish." Upham Vol. II. p. 4.

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have recovered their sanity, if what they did at any point is be closed up by that supposition. Mr. Upham and other writers find the assumption that the whole affair was a web of fraud and perjury in court, and of wicked silence afterwards, too awful for sane men to make, and yet they retreat upon it so often that they evidently think the logic of the case points straight to that conclusion.

Careful inquiry has produced the settled conviction that, while some of the witnesses may have made all their statements in perfect good faith and some tainted their allegations with conscious deceit, this taint was much less <sup>deep</sup> than many suppose.

It seems that the basis for such a conclusion is firmly laid in Dr. William B. Carpenter's discussion of Ideo-motor action and

the cognate topics in his interesting work on "Mental Physiology". The exhibition there made of the various effects of "Expectant Attention" shows how the girls at Salem might have sworn to every affirmation <sup>in the nature of spectral evidence</sup> with absolute honesty. Dr Carpenter affirms it as a "general principle, that, in certain individuals and in a certain state of mental concentration, the expectation of a result is sufficient to determine, - without any voluntary effort, and even in opposition to the will (for this may be honestly exerted to avoid any motion), - the muscular movements by which <sup>the result of</sup> is produced." In his little book on "Mesmerism, Spiritualism etc.", Dr Carpenter himself employs this principle of expectant attention to clear up the mowels of mesmerism, Odylism, Electro-Biology, the Pseudotelegraph, the Divining Rod, Thought Reading, Witchcraft, Mesmeric Clairvoyance, Table-Turning, Table-Talking,

Carpenter's  
Mental  
Physiology  
page 287.

and Spiritualism. These are all to be explained, according to Carpenter, by the operation of Expectant attention under the ~~influence~~ <sup>of witchcraft</sup> of dominant ideas.

The question <sup>of witchcraft</sup> is slightly treated, but so as to show clearly how he applies his doctrine to events like those which

happened in Salem. On page third Dr Carpenter says: "There has been a long succession of epidemic Delusions, the form of which has changed from time to time while their essential nature has remained the same throughout; and that the condition which underlies them all is the subjection of the mind to a dominant idea. There is a constitutional tendency in many minds to be seized by some strange notion which takes entire possession of them; so that all the actions of the individual thus possessed are results of its operation. This notion may be of a nature purely intellectual, or it may be one that strongly interests the feelings. It



may be confined to a small group of individuals, or it may spread through vast multitudes."

Dr Carpenter shows that all the marvels of Mesmerism are accounted for by this principle of expectant attention. When the French government, near the close of the last century, set eminent savants like Lavoisier, Bailly, and Benjamin Franklin to find out <sup>the scientific</sup> value of Mesmerism, they reported <sup>that</sup> the magnetic fluid, which was pretended to be <sup>beneficent</sup> the agent in certain cures, had no real existence; but that all its alleged effects could be produced on persons who <sup>falsely</sup> supposed themselves to be exposed to its action. The report of these eminent men shows that in mesmerism it is true: "that in persons of that excitable nervous temperament which is known as hysterical (a temperament by no means confined to women, though rare in healthy and vigorous men), the expectation of a certain result is often sufficient to produce it." Carpenter's Mesmerism, Spiritualism etc. page 12.

Dr Noble has recorded the case of a friend of his own who, believing himself able to control a female servant whom he had repeatedly mesmerised, accepted with the full assurance of confident faith a proposal to <sup>conduct</sup> an experiment in Dr Noble's house instead of his own. The girl, having been sent <sup>thither</sup> with a note, was told to sit down in Dr Noble's consulting-room while the answer was being written; her chair being placed close to a partially-open door, on the other side of which her master, whom she supposed to be elsewhere, had previously taken up his position. Although this gentleman had usually found two or three minutes sufficient to send the girl to sleep, when he was in his own drawing-room and she was in the kitchen, the two being separated by intervening walls and flooring, yet when he put forth his whole force for a quarter of an hour within two feet of her, with only a partially closed door between them, it was entirely without result.

and no other reason for the failure could be assigned than her entire freedom from expectancy." Mesmerism, Spiritism etc., page 23.

"Having occasion to go a journey of a hundred leagues, leaving a female parrambole under the treatment of one his friends, M. Bertrand sent him a magnetised letter, which he requested him to place on the stomach of the patient, who had been led to expect the anticipated results; Mesmeric sleep, with the usual concomitants, supervened. He wrote another <sup>letter</sup>, which he did not magnetise, and sent it to her in the same manner, and with the same intimation. She again fell into the Mesmeric sleep, which was attributed to the letter having been unintentionally magnetised by M. Bertrand with the mesmeric fluid while



he was writing it. Desiring to test the matter still further, he caused one of his friends to write a similar letter, imitating his handwriting so closely that those who received it should believe it to be his; - and the same effect was once more produced." Mesmerism, Spiritualism etc., page 26.

"When in London lately", says Mr. Braid, "I had the pleasure of calling upon an eminent and excellent physician who is in the habit of using Mesmerism in his practice, in suitable cases, just as he uses any other remedy. He spoke of the extraordinary effects which he had experienced from the use of magnets applied during the mesmeric state, and kindly offered to illustrate the fact on a patient who had been asleep all the time I was in the room,

and in that stage, during which I felt assured she would overhear every word of our conversation. He told me, that when he put the magnet into her hands, it would produce catalepsy of the hands and arms, and such was the result. He wafted the hands, and the catalepsy ceased. He said that a mere touch of a magnet on a limb would stiffen it, and such he proved to be the fact.

I now told him, that I had got a little instrument in my pocket, which, although for less than his, I felt assured would prove quite as powerful; and I offered to prove it by operating on the same patient, whom I had never seen before, and who was in the mesmeric state when I entered the room.

My instrument was about three inches long, the thickness of a quill, with a ring attached to the end of it. I

told him that when put into her hands, he would find it cataleptize both hands and arms as his had done; and such was the result.

Having reduced this by wafting, I took my instrument from her, and again returned it to her in another position, and told him it would now have the very reverse effect - that she would not be able to hold it, and that although I closed her hands upon it, they would open, and that it would drop out of them; and such was the case to the great surprise of my worthy friend, who now desired to be informed what I had done to the instrument to invest it with this new and opposite power. This I declined for the present; but I promised to do so, when he had seen some further proofs of its remarkable powers. I now told him that a touch with it on



either extremity would cause that extremity to rise and become cataleptic, and such was the result; that a second touch on the same point would produce rigidity, and cause it to fall, and such again proved to be the fact. After a variety of other experiments, every one of which proved precisely as I had predicted, she was aroused. I now applied the ring of my instrument on the third finger of the right hand, from which it was suspended, and told the doctor that ~~when~~ it was so suspended, it would send her to sleep. To this he replied, it never will; but I again told him that I felt confident that it would send her to sleep. We then were silent, and very speedily she was once more asleep. Having aroused her, I put the instrument on the second finger of her right hand and told the doctor that it would be found that she could not go to sleep, when it

was placed there. He said he thought she would, and he sat steadily gazing at her, but I said firmly and confidently that she would not. After a considerable time the doctor asked her if she did not feel sleepy, to which she replied - not at all; could you rise and walk? when she told him she could. I then requested her to look at the point of the fore-finger of her right hand, which I told the doctor would send her to sleep, and such was the result; and, after being aroused, I desired her to keep a steady gaze at the nail of the thumb of the left hand, which would send her to sleep in like manner, and such proved to be the fact.

Having repaired to another room, I explained to the doctor the real nature and powers of my little and apparently magical instrument, - that it was nothing more than my postmanteau key and ring; and that

what had imparted to it such apparently varied powers,  
 was merely the predictions which the patient had  
 overheard, <sup>me</sup> make to him, acting upon her in the  
 peculiar state of the nervous sleep as irresistible im-  
 pulses to be affected according to the results she had  
 heard me predict. Had I predicted that she would  
 see any flame, or color, or form, or substance, ani-  
 mate or inanimate, I know from experience  
 that such would have been realized, and responded to  
 by her; and that, not from any desire on her part  
 to impose upon others, but because she was self-deceived,  
 the vividness of her imagination in that state, inducing  
 her to believe as real what were only the figments of  
 fancy, suggested to her mind by the remarks of others.

Carpenter's "Mesmerism, Spiritualism etc," page 131.



These illustrations, which might <sup>be</sup> almost indefinitely multiplied from the works of writers on this <sup>topic</sup> or <sup>by</sup> properly conducted experiments, probably suffice to show that in the instance of Mesmerism the statement of Dr. Carpenter is unquestionable: "When a number of <sup>persons of that</sup> imaginative and concentrative turn of mind which predisposes them to this condition, sit for a couple of hours (especially if in the dark) with the expectation of some extraordinary occurrence, such as the rising and floating in the air, <sup>either</sup> of the human body, or of chairs and tables, without any physical agency; the crawling of live lobsters over their persons; the contact of hands, the sound <sup>the</sup> of voices, or the visible luminous shapes of departed friends, it is perfectly conformable to scientific probability that they should pass into a condition

which is neither sleeping nor waking, but between the two, in which they see, hear, or feel by touch, anything they have been led to expect to present itself.

*Mesmerism, Spiritualism, &c., page 48.*

The view, then, adopted by Dr Carpenter and other authorities is that in mesmerism, somnambulism, clairvoyance, spiritualism and witchcraft, with other similar delusions, a powerful expectancy of the kind of results predicted in the special case operates through the mind on the nerves of persons of the hysterical temperament so as to produce the very results foretold. These persons only tell the naked truth when they tell us, what they see, hear, smell, and touch at such times. But the mistake lies in their not recognising the internal origin of such states <sup>of</sup> sensation, and in thinking that the objective existence of the things seen, heard, touched and

smelt is proven. After stating the proofs of his theory with a fulness I dare not imitate, Dr Carpenters says:

"The results thus obtained by experiment, being at the same time consistent with ordinary medical experience, and accordant with Physiological probability, have an adequate claim to acceptance as Scientific facts; and it is obvious that, if the principle be once admitted that real sensations are producible by mental states, this principle furnishes the key to the explanation of a large number of those .. experiences, in which objects are affirmed to be seen and felt, that only exist in the Imagination of the subjects of them". Carpenter, "Mental Physiology", page 164.

The existence<sup>B</sup> of the hysterical constitution in <sup>persons</sup> some of the circle of the first<sup>A</sup> to be afflicted by witchcraft, is shown by Mr Upham to be historically certain.



On her mother's side, Ann Putnam was descended from a family in which insanity, love-sickness, and nervous irritability were so conspicuous that she could hardly have avoided the legacy of an excitable and hysterical nervous system. Perhaps one or two others exhibit more excitability of temperament than the two Ann Putnams, mother and daughter, but they both were several times on the very verge of maniacal delirium. The testimony of Susanna Sheldon is all a-flutter with a similar wild excitement of disordered nerves. It is not very likely that they were the only persons in that company gifted with such a fatal inheritance. And it should be remembered that some of the proceedings were very well calculated to evoke any such <sup>dominant</sup> susceptibility in any of these persons.

The history of medicine records the startling effect of sudden dismay <sup>or terror</sup> in producing a <sup>terrible</sup> shock <sup>in numerous cases</sup> <sup>we</sup> on the nervous system, of which <sup>we</sup> have room for only one.

A butcher was brought into the shop of Mr MacFarlan, the druggist, from the market-place opposite, laboring under a terrible accident. The man on trying to hook up a heavy piece of meat above his head, slipped, and the sharp hook penetrated his arm, so that he himself was suspended. On being examined, he was pale, almost pulseless, and expressed himself as suffering acute agony. His arm could not be moved without causing severe pain; and in cutting off the sleeve, he frequently cried out; yet when the arm was exposed, it was found to be quite uninjured, the hook having only traversed the sleeve of his coat. "Mental Physiology," page 158.

"No evidence could be stranger than that  
 afforded by the almost pulseless condition of the  
 subject of this case as to the reality of the <sup>pain</sup> severe,  
 which he experienced; and yet the pain entirely  
 arose from his mental conviction that the hook had  
 penetrated the flesh of his arm". What marvel  
 if the sudden announcement, made in <sup>open</sup> court  
 by persons supposed to be bewitched, that such a  
 witch was on the way to tempt and torment  
 some person present, should suddenly develop  
 an hysterical nervous susceptibility until then  
 entirely unsuspected? In the very exciting scenes  
 of those times in general, and in the unexpected  
 turns of this great tragedy, the wonder is that so  
 few persons were "under an evil hand."



1740

In Wesley's Journal, Friday, May 9, we read:

I was not a little surprised at some, who were buffeted of Satan in an unusual manner, by such a spirit of laughter as they could in no wise resist, though it was pain and grief to them. I could scarce have believed the account they gave me, had I not known the same thing ten or eleven years ago. Part of Sunday my brother and I then used to spend in walking in the meadows and singing psalms. But one day, just as we were beginning to sing, he burst out into a loud laughter. I asked him if he were distracted; and began to be very angry, and presently after to laugh as loud as he. Nor could we possibly refrain, though we were ready to tear ourselves in pieces, but we were forced to go home without singing another line.

A fortnight later he makes this record:

"In the evening such a spirit of laughter was among us, that many were much offended. But the attention of all was fixed upon poor L—a S—, whom we all knew to be no dissembler. One so violently and variously torn of the evil one did I never see before. Sometimes she laughed till almost strangled; then broke out into cursing and blaspheming; then stamped and struggled with incredible strength, so that four or five could scarce hold her" . . . . .

Most of our brothers and sisters were now fully convinced, that those who were under this strange temptation could not help it. Only E—the B— and Anne H— were of another mind, being still sure, any one might keep laughing if she

wanted. This they declared to many on Thursday; but on Friday, 23, God suffered Satan to teach them better. Both of them were suddenly seized in the same manner as the rest, and laughed whether they would or no, almost without ceasing. Thus they continued for two days, a spectacle to all; and were then, upon prayer made for them, delivered in a moment."

When we consider the devout and reverential temper of the Wesleys and their disciples we can hardly wonder that they should have regarded such events as Satanic in origin and purpose; but though we should deny <sup>them</sup> this supernatural quality, they remain striking illustrations of what the expectancy of diabolical interference may produce in candid and enlightened people.



With these principles and illustrations before our minds, we shall be prepared to comprehend what happened to the ten girls and young women who were studying palmistry and magic at the Salem Farms parsonage in the winter of 1691-2.

It is very improbable that such a company of young people should not sometime during the long winter-evenings, have talked over the general subject of witchcraft. Some of the parishioners of Parsonage did not like the

meetings for such dubious purposes, and thought them akin to worse things. Probably near the end

of February

the proceedings <sup>of some evening</sup> had awakened in some of those concentrative and imaginative

youth a fear lest they should be bewitched, and roused them <sup>profoundly</sup> so, as to keep the matter always before their thoughts. What they feared came upon them.

They fancied themselves constrained to go into all sorts of strange and unusual ways of behavior. Presently people noticed that they would go through strange and antic gestures, creep into holes, hide under chairs and stools, and utter senseless speeches.

When the parents of such children called in the doctor, he could make nothing of their doings. But he laid the foundation for the "expectancy of witchcraft" <sup>in their minds</sup> by telling their parents that an evil hand

was on their offspring.

Mr Parris fasted and prayed with his neighbors who were in the same fearful way. Next, he called in other ministers to his aid. These <sup>they were doing,</sup> did what they could, and more than they knew, by pronouncing it <sup>a case of</sup> indubitable witchcraft, after they had heard the strange and ridiculous speeches made by the children, and seen a girl of ten or twelve lying in a convulsive fit. During the attack her feet would be twisted several ways, until suddenly <sup>the spasm</sup> would end. In this manner the good ministers must <sup>have</sup> greatly heightened the "expectancy of witchcraft" in that group of young people. The Indian Tituba tried to find out who had bewitched the children by <sup>she asked them,</sup> arts she had learned in Spanish America. Po-



who bewitched them? Thus every thing conspired to convince them that they were bewitched. This conviction, <sup>once</sup> established in their minds, constituted an enduring "expectancy" of all the phenomena in themselves, known to accompany witchcraft. Of course, the greatest hag in the village was sure to <sup>be</sup> suggested to their minds as their bewitcher, and such was Sarah Good, the first victim they denounced. The Indian woman Tituba named several persons as engaged with herself in the dreadful business of tormenting the afflicted.

Sarah Good, the village wizard, was the first to be arrested and examined at Salem. The afflicted children were present at her examination before the magistrates, Hathorne<sup>m</sup> and Boswin.

They knew the universal belief that when the  
 witch's eye was <sup>fastened</sup> upon them, it <sup>might</sup> strike them  
 down and subject them to dreadful torture; this  
 "expectancy" did its work on them all when the  
 magistrates required them to look at the prisoner,  
 and identify her as their tormentor - "presently they  
 were all tormented" runs the record.

Another fact which was cited in other  
 times to show the reality of the sufferings of the  
 afflicted, <sup>is</sup> that they often fell down when the eye  
 of the accused rested upon them, although the  
 porties were so placed that the girls could not  
 observe the <sup>accused</sup>. The mere belief that such a fatal  
 spell was upon them ~~would~~, on the principles  
 laid down by Carpenter, suffice to overthrow them  
 and torture them.

Their general knowledge that true witches  
 should appear to their subjects in the form of dogs,  
 cats, birds, toads, and snakes, created in them an  
 expectancy of direful visitation in these  
 shapes, which <sup>foreboding was</sup> only too surely fulfilled. As they  
 knew that witches might remain on their seats  
 in the court-room, and at the same moment  
 hang poised on the beams overhead, or look  
 down from the ceiling, their expectant attention  
 brought the devils and wizzards out in all such  
 postures and attitudes. They knew that genuine  
 witches worshipped Satan and observed vile car-  
 icatures of Christian worship, and the holy  
 sacraments. This expectancy summoned the  
 witch meeting in Parris' posture, and made Rev. Mr.  
 Burroughs the high priest of that fiendish ceremony.



We have several cases on record which show that the same person would produce all the terrible <sup>effects</sup> of witchcraft on the afflicted persons when they supposed him to be a witch, though the charge was stoutly denied, but could not produce the same results the moment the victims ceased to think him a wizzard. One such case is reported to posterity solely in the account of Governor Hutchinson.

When Nehemiah Abbot was arraigned before justices Hawthorne and Corwin as a witch, he most strenuously and solemnly denied his guilt. But Ann Putnam and Mary Walcott strongly accused him of tormenting them in the usual fashion, and all were struck dumb before him. But so earnest and bold was he in his denials that the justices admonished the accusers not to charge the sin upon him.

unless sure it was he. Ann Putnam said, it is the same man, and then she was taken with a fit. Mary

Walcot, Is this the man? He is like him, I cannot say it is he. Mercy Lewis said, it is not the man. They all

agreed, <sup>that</sup> the man had a bunch on his eyes. He was sent forth till several others were examined. When he

was brought in again, by reason of much people and many in the windows so that the accusers could not have a clear view of him, he was ordered abroad, and the accusers to go forth to him and view him in the light, which they did, and, in the presence of the

magistrates and many others discoursed quietly with him, one and all acquitting him; but yet said he was like that man, but had not the wear they saw in his apparition. Note, he was a hilly-faced man, and stood shaded by his own hair, so that

for some time he seemed to some by-standers and observers to be considerably like the person the afflicted did describe." Hutchinson's History, vol. II, page 48.

A better experiment could hardly have been arranged to show the precise relation between the degree of expectancy of witchcraft <sup>in the minds of the accusers and the resulting consequences thereof.</sup> While all think they see in Abbot the <sup>living</sup> embodiment of an apparition they had seen, all <sup>the girls</sup> are struck dumb before him. When a doubt arises about the exact resemblance between the specter and Abbot, it is Ann Putnam who says "it is the same man" that goes off into the proper fit; while Mary Walcott who says, "I cannot say it is he", and Mercy Lewis who says, "It is not the man", both have <sup>instant</sup> release from their earlier dumbness <sup>further</sup> and fall into no fits. When his accusers come to inspect Abbot in the open air, Ann Putnam like



the rest sees that he has <sup>not</sup> the wren which they all had agreed the apposition had upon its face, and then she has no further dumbness or convulsions. (page 89 $\frac{1}{2}$  comes here)

In all the early stages of the witchcraft delirium Mary Warren was one of the clearest headed and best informed actors and sufferers. But early in April the rumor was circulated from lip to lip that she had said that "the afflicted children did but dissemble," and that Mrs Proctor had compelled Warren "to set her hand to the book." Her recent associates at once drew the inference <sup>that</sup> she had become a witch, and that her charge that the girls dissembled was the result of her new fealty to Satan. As soon as this opinion had taken hold <sup>on</sup> this circle, as might have been foreseen, she or some one in her "shape," was reported to be afflicting the bewitched persons, and offering them the devil's book for signature.

"The experiment, about the usefulness, yea, lawfulness whereof, good men have sometimes disputed, was divers times made, that though the afflicted were utterly deprived of all sense in their fits, yet upon the touch of the accused, they would so screech out and fly up, as not upon any other persons. And yet it was also found once that upon the touch of an innocent persons, the like effect followed, which put the whole court into a stand; although a small reason was at length attempted to be given for it."

Solomon Witchcraft.

Robert Calef and Cotton Mather, page 427.

The "small reason attempted to be given for it" would <sup>be</sup> interesting to know. We may be certain it was not the true one; for in some way the afflicted persons must have been led to think an innocent person "a real wizzard."

Mary

For several weeks Warren lay in prison, and during all this time the afflicted persons were much tormented by her "shop". When she was led into court "the afflicted fell into fits;" later some were struck dumb, and finally Betty Hubbard testified against her, and then said Hubbard fell into a violent fit." Some time afterwards, "They were all but John Indian grievously afflicted, and Mrs Pope also, who was not afflicted before this day; and, after a few moments John Indian fell into a violent fit also."

After nearly a month it was proved in open court that Mary Warren was not guilty of the witchcraft charged upon her, and she was released from jail. When this <sup>binding</sup> was known, the afflicted persons had no more tormentors in her shop. She associated <sup>freely</sup> with her alleged victims during the trials, and appeared as a frequent <sup>witness</sup> against others without the least

Upham  
vol. II, p. 116



further complaint that she was afflicting any body. The facts show that her victims suffered <sup>of their torment</sup> during the precise period they supposed her a witch, and that all such sufferings ceased when that supposition gave way in their minds.

When Captain John Alden, son of that well known John Alden who won the fair Priscilla to be his own wife whom he could not persuade to become the bride of <sup>Captain</sup> Miles Standish, was on trial as a witch, he asked a question which showed that he had detected the working of the witch-expectancy in the minds of the witnesses: They bade Alden look on the accusers, which he did; and then they fell down. Alden asked Mr. Godney what reason there could be given why Alden's looking upon him did not did not strike him down as well? But no answer was given that I heard." Upham vol. II. page 245.

In Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts we find this remark about the accusers in these famous cases: "None of the pretended 'afflicted' were ever brought upon trial for their fraud; some of them proved profligate persons, abandoned to all vice, others passed their days in obscurity and contempt." Vol. II. p. 62.

This declaration of Governor Hutchinson formally notifies us that, as some of these witnesses were of bad reputation so some of their evidence must have been false. Can we now make out who these bad witnesses were? Concerning Sarah Good, Sarah Osburne, and Tituba, the Indian woman, Martha Cory,

the wife Giles Corey, a well-informed and most honorable witness, declares, that "They were idle, slothful persons, and ~~rejoiced~~ <sup>rejoiced</sup> nothing good."

Woodward's "Salem Witchcraft", vol. 1, page 80.

There was abundant proof that Abigail Hobbs <sup>and character</sup> was a person whose word <sup>was</sup> quite worthless. The witness Goady Bibber was proved by valid evidence to be an idler, tattler, tale-bearer, addicted to bad language, <sup>obscene,</sup> abusive to her husband, and turbulent in spirit. Not only was she shown up as a <sup>reputed</sup> bad character, but Sarah Nurse swore that she saw Goady Bibber pull pins out of her dress, adjust them between her fingers so that the clasping of her hands around her knees <sup>to be shown later</sup> would drive the pins into her hands "as proof that Goady Nurse had pinched and pricked her. Such evidence discredits forever five witnesses.



We do not know whether these five witnesses include all the parties referred to by Governor Hutchinson as "abandoned to all vice." But it is well known that neither of these discredited persons belonged to the <sup>small knot</sup> <sup>who put the accusations on foot.</sup> of the original sufferers from witchcraft. Hence <sup>the averments of</sup> it becomes necessary to examine <sup>the</sup> original accusers in order to learn who amongst them were victims of pure delusion and who combined with a large measure of delusion some measure of conscious fraud? We may find some <sup>effort</sup> help in this by recalling the difference between the spectral testimony and testimony concerning actual facts. There is a fair presumption that any witnesses who testified only to facts in the nature of "spectral evidence" were so under the

sway of the universal delusions on that subject as to leave their integrity unassailable.

• But of the <sup>here</sup> remaining original accusers only two, Elizabeth Booth and Elizabeth Hubbard, in reality confine themselves <sup>to</sup> the realm of spectral evidence. Of course, this <sup>m</sup>circumstance alone is no strict <sup>that</sup>proof <sup>if</sup> they <sup>were</sup> wholly honest in <sup>spectral</sup>their declarations but it leaves the conviction that they were so, unembarrassed by ~~positive~~ evidence of their responsibility for known deceit.

• Let us group together the matters on record in reference to each of the other witnesses that have the air of fraud, conscious or unconscious.

Mercy Lewis states that the appearance of George Jacobs tortured me most grievously

unforgotten

by pinching and beating me black and blue."  
 Woodward vol 6. p. 264.  
 When Mary Black was under examination, Mercy  
 Lewis was pricked in the foot."

Ann Putnam jr. swore that Ann Pudeator  
 had admitted to her that Pudeator flew by a man  
 in the night into a house". When George Jacobs  
 was on trial "Ann Putnam and Abigail Williams  
 had each of them a pine stick into their hands,  
 and they said it was this old Jacobs."

Ann Putnam, the mother of the lost witness  
 once got quite beyond the field of spectral evidence (perhaps without  
 getting into the realm of conscious falsehood) for Edward Put-  
 nam swore: "Ann Putnam sr. was bitten by Rebecca  
 Nurse, as she said, about two of the clock."

The same day she was struck by  
 her with a chair: the mark being



a kind of round ring and three strokes ~~across~~ of the ring. She had six blows with a chain in the space of half an hour; and she had one remarkable one with six strokes across her arm. I saw the mark both of bite and chain.

Mary Walcot in court charged that Rebecca Nurse had then and there bitten her. "The marks of the teeth were produced on her wrist" to prove the charge. At another time "Mary Walcot was pricked in her arm till the blood came".

Abigail Williams was once pricked on the stomach. Like Ann Putnam she had a pin stuck into her hand, and said that George Jacobs did it.

Sarah Churchill said that Ann Pu-

March 24

May 11

dealer and her master George Jacobs had each sought to beguile her into witchcraft. She charged her master with bringing the devil's book <sup>to her</sup>, wherein she saw the name of her master Jacobs, and <sup>owned that</sup> she entered her own in it.

This evidence was qualified by the sworn allegation of Sarah Ingersoll that Sarah Churchill had several times repeated to her, "That she had <sup>and others</sup> undone herself, in belying herself and others" by saying she had signed the devil's book. She said did not withdraw these false declarations, because she had stood out so long in it that she dared not. If she told Mr. Noyes but once she had set her hand to the book he would believe her; but if she told the truth and said she had not set her hand to the book a hundred times

he would not believe her". Woodward's *Salem Witchcraft*, p. 200.

Susanna Sheldon declares that, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June 1692 Sarah Good most violently drew down my head behind a chest, and tied my hands together with a wheel-band and almost choked me to death.... William Batten and Thomas Buffington jr. were forced to cut the wheel-band from off my hands; for they could not untie it.

Also a saucer being by invisible hands taken from a table and carried out of doors, said Sheldon said she saw Sarah Good carry it away and put it where it was found abroad."

On another occasion she complained that, "Goody Buckley came, stopped my mouth, and carried me away, I know not how, near a mile, and told me now she had me at her command."



If I would not put my hand to the book, she would kill me.

William Shaw, plowing in his father's field, heard a fearful cry in a thicket of young wood, went to it, and found Sheldon in a terrible manner, screaming and breaking sticks, and fighting in a violent manner." Woodward's *Salem Witchcraft* vol. 1. page 193.

The testimony of Robert Moulton sr. who testified and said that I was watching with Susannah Sheldon since she was afflicted, I heard her say that the witches hauled her upon her belly through the yard like a snake and hauled her over the stone walls, and presently she did contradict her former discourse, and said she came over the stone wall herself, and I heard her say that she rode upon a pole to Boston, and she said the devil carried the pole." Woodward's *Salem Witchcraft* vol. 11. page 200.

The case of Mary Warren differs from that of the other witnesses in several striking particulars

growing out of the fact she appeared in succession of roles; first, as one of the afflicted persons who accused others of torturing her by witchcraft; second, as a critic of the proceedings in court; third, in the part

of a witch on trial like the rest; and finally as an active witness against the poor victims.

Mary Warren is named in one of the complaints against John Proctor, her master, as a sufferer from his witchcraft. Proctor said he had declared he would ~~thrust~~ <sup>Warren</sup> Mary in case she should again fall into her fits; whereupon she had no more until he had gone away from house, when they again assailed her.

But on the 18<sup>th</sup> of April Mary Warren was indicted for acts of witchcraft against Ann Putnam, Mercy Lewis, Abigail Williams, Elizabeth Hubbard and Mary Walcott of Salem Village. A rumor had reached the ears of <sup>this circle</sup> that Mary Warren, on recovery from her fits, had said that

W. H. P. Putnam, Mercy Lewis, Abigail Williams, Elizabeth Hubbard and Mary Walcott of Salem Village. A rumor had reached the ears of <sup>this circle</sup> that Mary Warren, on recovery from her fits, had said that



the afflicted persons did but dissemble." Hence the accusation. Or it might have been reported <sup>master</sup> to the other girls that Mary Warren's had compelled her to set her hand to the devil's book, and so made her a witch. On two such reports they would be certain to conclude that she had gone over to enemy, which conviction alone would suffice to <sup>convince</sup> some of the circle that she had afflicted them. There are affidavits from Elizabeth Booth and Elizabeth Hubbard, made on the date of Mary Warren's first examination, which charge her with bewitching them. To all these accusations she responded, "I am innocent." Yet before her eyes the witnesses were one after another cast down upon the floor. When the examiners assumed that the accused had owned that she had

made a league with the devil, her only answer was to fall to the floor speechless, without hearing and sight. She strove to speak when a violent fit seized her and, through her set teeth, she cried out, "Lord, save me! Lord help me!" After several such fits the question was put. "Have you signed the devil's book?" "No." "Have you not touched it?" "No." Her fits spailed her afresh and she was sent out for air.

When questioned (probably on the 20th April) in prison: "Did you not know it was the devil's book when you signed?" She replied: "No; but I thought it no good book."

Q. After you had made a mark in the book what did you think?  
A. Then I thought it was the devil's book.

Before the magistrates (April 21) she said her master brought a book for her to sign. To the demand, "Whether she signed it?" answered not un-

left putting her <sup>finger</sup> to it was signing it." When asked  
 whether she saw a spot where she put her finger, she  
 said there came there a black spot. Asked whether  
 her finger was wet when she touched the book, her  
 reply was: "She knew not that it was wet; or whether it  
 was wet with spittle or cider: but her finger did  
 make a mark, and the mark was black." She said  
 her master and mistress put her hand to the book  
 and her finger made a black spot; which made her  
 tremble. Then she <sup>(her mistress)</sup> said she was ~~and~~ done soul  
 and body. . . . She was told it was her own volun-  
 tary act. She would have denied it but was told the  
 devil could have done nothing if she had not  
 yielded. . . . "She said when she touched the book she  
 went to put her finger to another line but her  
 finger went to the same spot where her <sup>finger</sup> had blacked.



the book

Mr Noyes told her she had, then, touched <sup>the book</sup> twice, and asked her whether she did not suspect it to be the devil's book before she touched it the second time? she said she feared it was no good book, that is a book to deceive. To all questions whether she <sup>knew</sup> her master was a wizard when he offered her the book to sign, she steadily replied in the negative.

She was carefully questioned about her part in the afflictions charged upon <sup>her</sup> by the other witnesses as inflicted <sup>by her agency</sup> in <sup>the</sup> court-room itself. When asked if she had been instrumental in afflicting the afflicted persons, she replied, no; but when she heard that they had been afflicted in her shape, she began to fear it was the devil. She further said

"the devil never asked her consent to hurt in her shape".

This prosecution of Mary Warren for witchcraft by her late associates opened her eyes more fully to the true nature of such criminal proceedings. <sup>against wiggwags</sup> For, the evidence of very estimable persons, like Mary English, Mary Easty, Edward Bishop and Sarah Bishop, shows that in the first week of May they heard Mary Warren say several times that the magistrates might as well examine Keysar's daughter, that had been distracted many years, and take notice what she said as well as any of the afflicted persons. For, said Mary Warren when I was afflicted I thought I saw the apparitions of a hundred persons; for, she said

her head was distempered [so] that she could not tell what she said. And the said Mary told us that when she was well again, she could not say that she saw any of the apparitions at the time aforesaid." Upham, vol. II. page 116.

The final examination of Mary Warren as a witch was on May 12, though some of the affidavits against her were made as late as May 18<sup>th</sup>, 1692. She adhered to her former denials that she had knowingly set her hand to the devil's book or permitted Satan to torment in her shape. On one point alone she changed her declarations. She had denied that she had images to stick pins or thorns into, in order to hurt the persons represented by such puppets. She had <sup>had</sup> her master and mistress tell



of such doings, but no such figures were in the Proctor house. To the inquiry, "did you ever see any puppets?" she <sup>now</sup> said she had once seen one in Mrs. Proctor's hand and that she had stuck a pin into the puppets. She was sure it was to represent Ann Putnam or Abigail Williams.... For a time she could remember nothing farther of this kind, yet at last remembered that in apposition Goody Parker had fetched her a puppet of Mercy Lewis which Warren had pierced about the waist, and a like appositional puppet of Mary Walcott had been brought her by Ann Putnam, the witch, while her Mistress Proctor had brought her a yellow likeness of Abigail Williams into which Warren had driven a thorn. This change in

Woodward's  
 'Salem Witchcraft'  
 vol. 1, page  
 117.

Mary Warren's evidence was, no doubt, given in such a form as to convey the idea that the persons

who at different times had <sup>induced</sup> her to hurt these queer images, had striven to make her afflict those represented by these strange puppets without her knowledge of it, as her master Boctor had tried to make <sup>her</sup> sign the <sup>devils</sup> book by making her mark on <sup>since otherwise her previous statements would have been inquiries.</sup> it instead of writing her name. Making one's mark was then the most common form of signature.

Released from goal, she appeared as a witness against John Boctor and his wife, Elizabeth, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June, against Mary Easty the 3<sup>d</sup> and George Jacobs the 4<sup>th</sup> of August, Ann Pudcator the 7<sup>th</sup> of September, Mary Bradbury and Giles Cozy the 9<sup>th</sup> of September, Samuel Wardwell, Wilnot Redd and Mary Lacy the 14<sup>th</sup> of September and Abigail Faulkner the 17<sup>th</sup> September 1692. Except that she adhered to her former tale about the Boctors, she confined herself strictly to spectral evidence. Some

of this <sup>spectral matter</sup> was strange enough; as in the case of Giles Cory, where the record says: "In her fit in the other room before she had seen Giles Cory," <sup>she</sup> charged him with afflicting her, described all his garments, his hat, coat, and the color of them, with a cord about his waist, a white cap on his head, and in chains, as several then in the company can affirm.

Woodward vol. 1. page 123.

Some other suggestions of fraud are found in some of the papers. <sup>Lawson</sup> Scodatus states that during the "Examination of a suspected person, one had a pin run through both her upper and lower lip when she was called on to speak;" "some afflicted were found with arms and hands bound and hanged on a hook;" "some afflicted have been drawn under beds and tables by undiscerned force, so that they could hardly be pulled out;" "an iron spindle of a woollen wheel



111

strangely taken from a house in Salem, was used by a spectre as an <sup>invisible</sup> instrument of torture on a sufferer, but when snatched by the sufferer out of the spectre's hand appeared to the persons present to be really the same iron spindle; "a spectre appeared to a young woman with a white sheet wrapped around it, invisible to the bystanders till she caught at the sheet, and then at once appeared in the young woman's hand the corner of the sheet, a real cloth, visible to all, which still remains to be <sup>seen</sup>. Hutchinson says that some of the afflicted charged a child four years old with biting them" and showed the print of small teeth on their arms." Upham vol. II. p. 528.

Calef reports that a witness against Sarah Good charged her with stabbing the witness's breast with a knife so that a piece of the knife was broken off. To prove the story part of a knife blade was exhibited.

But a young man came into court and produced a broken knife which fitted exactly to the fragment from the witch's blade, and said he had the day before cast away that fragment of a blade in the presence of the person who had now lied about it. The Court told the woman to lie no more, but did not wholly reject her evidence." Upham, vol. II. 268.

Daniel Elliot proves that on March 28<sup>th</sup> 1692, at Nathaniel Ingersoll's house, one of the afflicted was there "who cried out and said, 'There's Goody Proctor.' William Raymond jr. told the girl he believed she lied, for he saw nothing. Then Goody Ingersoll told the girl she told a lie, for there was nothing. Then the girl said she did it for sport, - they must have some sport."

Woodward, vol. II. page 115.

Of course, it cannot be denied that these

passages show the existence of a fraudulent element  
 in the evidence before the court. Pins thrust into the  
 lips or hands of witnesses show that lying had begun its  
 role in these trials. The iron spindle and the cor-  
 ner of a witches skirt in the hands of witnesses  
 alert enough to snatch them from invisible hands,  
 convict the actors of a deftness in sleight of hand  
 tricks of an uncommon nature. Nobody knew how  
 well by what hands Susanna Sheldon was so tightly  
 bound with a wheel-band and others were hung with  
 pinioned arms upon hooks as the victims of such outrages.  
 Perhaps the elder Anne Putnam could have told  
 Edward Putnam no more than she did tell him about  
 the origin of the prints of the teeth in her own flesh; but  
 we at least are familiar with the origin of that  
 shape of



Rebecca Nurse which bit her <sup>strokes</sup> flesh  
 and delivered the six surmount with a spectral  
 ring and chain within half an hour on her arm.  
 The worst examples of such jugglery during the  
 trials were not brought home to the chief  
 members of that circle of girls. It is a very  
 slender part of their evidence in court; so that  
 it might easily have been eliminated with-  
 out changing the legal aspect of it. But it must  
 likewise be borne in mind that much  
 which now seems false was nevertheless really true.

The pinching, biting, choking and pricking  
 might have been real without coming from  
 the supposed witches. The black and blue <sup>spots</sup> on  
 the sufferers arms and the affliction on the suf-  
 ferers' stomachs until blood <sup>flowed freely</sup> gave as genuine an

air of fraud as anything. But on some of these things we have <sup>strange but</sup> credible <sup>contemporary</sup> evidence from Rev. S. S. datus Lawson: "Sometimes in their fits they had their tongues drawn out to a fearful length, their heads turned very much over <sup>the</sup> shoulders; while they have been so strained in their fits, and had their arms and legs wrested as if quite dislocated, the blood hath gushed plentifully out of their mouths for a considerable time, which some, that they might be satisfied it was real blood, took upon their finger and rubbed on the other hand. I saw several thus straining and bleeding in their fits. Things were possible to people in their condition and circumstances which could not have happened under a different condition of public feeling. But before we dare to pronounce such

transactions fraudulent we should bear in mind  
 that the best experts on these perplexing subjects,  
 like Braid and Carpenter, have pronounced a very  
 different opinion about things said by them to be occurring,  
 like these: "It is an undoubted fact that with  
 many individuals, and especially of the highly  
 nervous, and imaginative, and abstractive classes,  
 a strong direction of inward consciousness to any  
 part of the body, especially if attended with the ex-  
 pectation or belief of something being about to hap-  
 pen is often quite sufficient to change the physical  
action of the part, and to produce such impression  
from this cause alone.... Thus every variety of  
 feeling may be excited from an internal or  
mental cause — such as heat or cold, pricking,  
 creeping, tingling, spasmodic twitching of muscles, cataplexy,



a feeling of attraction or repulsion, sights of every form or hue, odors, tastes, and sounds, in endless variety, and so on, according as accident or intention may have suggested. Moreover, the oftener such impressions have been excited, the more readily may they be reproduced, under similar circumstances, through the laws of association and habit.  
<sup>superstitions, mesmerism, spiritualism etc.,</sup> Page 31.

One of the most telling evidences of fraud in Mary Warren's behavior is found by Upham in her story in the trial of Abigail Faulkner: "Mary Warren enacted the part of being dragged against her will under the table by an invisible hand, from whose grasp she was at once released, upon the prisoner's <sup>hand</sup> being made to touch her". Upham, vol. II. page 331.

But that her singular conduct does not

convict the witness of absolute fraud is shown by a statement of Dr. W.B. Carpenter: "I myself had the opportunity of witnessing these vigilant phenomena (as Mr. Braid termed them, from their being presented by individuals not asleep, though in a state of abstraction) upon one of Mr. Braid's best 'subjects,' a gentleman residing in Manchester, well known for his high intellectual culture, great ability and strict probity. He had such a remarkable power of voluntary abstraction, as to be able at any time to induce in himself a state akin to profound Reverie ... in which he became so completely possessed by any idea strongly enforced upon him, that his whole state of feeling and action was dominated by it. Thus it was sufficient for him to place his

hand upon the table, and fix his attention for half a minute, to be entirely unable to withdraw it, if assured in a determined tone that he could not do so. When his gaze had been steadily directed for a short time to the poles of a magnet, he could be brought to see flames issuing from them of any form or color that Mr. Braid chose to name. And when desired to place his hand on one of the poles, and to fix his attention for a brief period on it, the peremptory assurance that he could not detach it was sufficient to hold it there with such tenacity, that I saw Mr. Braid drag him round the room by the traction of a magnet... The attraction was dissolved by Mr. Braid's loud cheery 'All right, man,' which brought the subject back to his normal condition, as suddenly as the attraction of a power.



ful Electro-magnet for a heavy mass of iron ceases when the circuit is broken. Carpenter's Mesmerism, Spiritism etc., page 34.

Who can safely assert, in the presence of these remarkable phenomena attested by men of science of rare intelligence and skill, that Mary Warren was <sup>not</sup> much more likely to have been irresistibly drawn beneath a table and held there as if in <sup>vice</sup> by a power of whose invincible might she was fully persuaded than the Manchester gentleman was to be dragged around a room like a lifeless lump <sup>in his mind</sup> by the force of an expectancy that had been established.

During a condition of severe which was near enough sleep to paralyze the <sup>resisting</sup> action the will but <sup>to</sup> not prevent the mental perception of the unreality of the <sup>mental</sup> expectation. The scientific attestation <sup>in our days</sup> of facts of these kinds has one of its best uses in aiding us to a wiser reading of conduct like Mary Warren's.

- One of the most curious and instructive chapters connected with the inquiry how far mental convictions and expectations do sometimes have marvelous reactions upon the physical condition of their holders, is presented in the stigmatizations so often reported as happening to Catholic Saints. Such things were once the theme of ribald wit and skeptical laughter, <sup>but</sup> are now regarded by the best informed of scientific observers as actual historical events. These do not accept the Catholic notion that the stigmata are a supernatural attestation of the wisdom or holiness of the saints who receive them.
- But they find themselves constrained by irresistible evidence to admit the reality of the marks of the wounds of Jesus Christ; they also <sup>on many persons</sup>

endeavor to explain these extraordinary events by physiological principles and illustrate their reasonableness by kindred phenomena that have elsewhere fallen under the observation of physicians; and it is the success with which they have achieved <sup>the solution of</sup> this problem which enables us to see how far the expectation of being the victims of bodily injuries at the hands of witches may have gone towards producing the physical harm <sup>they</sup> ~~had~~ <sup>produced</sup>.

We shall produce an extended account of three such cases for the reader's consideration. The first two are taken from Tholuck's Vermischte Schriften. vol. 1. pages - 97-133. The third case is from Dr. W. A. Hammond's book, "Fast-  
ing Girls," printed in New York, in 1879. Explanatory comments will appear at the right place.



"We are speaking here of a saint, who  
 in the Catholic Church has not merely been  
 placed on a level with the Saviour but even ex-  
 alted above him. The work of Bartholomew de  
 Pisis, composed in the year 1385 and published  
 in 1510, liber conformitatum <sup>with Christ,</sup> has the design,  
 in a forty-fold comparison of St. Francis,  
 to show that <sup>he</sup> had been in all points made  
 like unto his Redeemer, as, for instance, through  
 old Testament prophecies, through miracles,  
 through crucifixion, etc., yea, in some par-  
 ticulars the greater miracles had been found  
 on the side of the saint, as when it is said:  
 It was miraculous that Christ had preserved his  
 own body unwasted until the third day, but  
 yet more miraculous that the marks of the wounds

of St. Francis had continued for two full years without corruption, and so on. Innumerable and incredible are the miraculous deeds reported of St. Francis; he has raised the dead, turned water into wine, wild beasts have met him like <sup>old</sup> friends, the wolf has presented to him its claws, his lamb has bent its knees before the altar. Yet the most renowned of all <sup>these</sup> miracles is the stigmatization of the Saint, the impressing the five wounds of Christ upon his body. Catholic legends of Saints indeed tell about other stigmatizations, and no less than three and thirty are alleged; especially was Saint Catherine of Siena with her marks of the wounds been brought forward by the Dominicans over against the founder of the Franciscan Order; — but the bull of Sixtus

11. assigned that extraordinary distinction to St. Francis alone, a special holiday was set apart by the Church <sup>in honor of</sup> his stigmatization, it is recognized as especially accredited.

Let us presume <sup>authenticity and integrity of the</sup> that against the original documents accrediting this wonderful miracle no well founded doubt can be raised, and see how, on the assumption of their trustworthiness, the matter of fact must be regarded.

According to the current supposition the earliest report which we possess of the life of Saint Francis comes from his disciple, that Thomas of Celano, who is also reputed to be the author of the renowned sequence or hymn, desirae; this biography, known under the name legenda antiqua, appears to have



been composed a few years after the death of the Saint  
 (he died in 1226) and is found in the Acta Sancto-  
torum, Octobr. T. II. The second claim to con-  
 temporaneity and credibility belongs to the  
legenda trium sociorum, composed by three disciples  
 of the Saint, who properly <sup>speaking</sup> give rather a supplement  
 to the other accounts; the authors of the Acta Sancto-  
torum communicate <sup>it</sup> as an appendix to the  
 biography of Belarus. The contents of these and  
 some smaller works were in the year 1260  
 (hence thirty four years after the death of Francis)  
 worked over by Bonaventura, known as the  
doctor seraphicus, into a larger description  
 of the life, in which already more of the mir-  
 aculous is found than in the works cited. Then  
 an extract <sup>of</sup> the work of Bonaventura under the

name of legenda minor was very widely circulated.

Let us take from the mouth of the oldest biographer the account of that notable event in the life of Francis, the wonderful marking with the wounds of the Redeemer. It is stated there (Act. Sanct. 1. 1. page 709): 'While he was staying in a solitude, which is named Aurnum, from the place where it is situated, two years before his death, he beheld in a divine vision a man above himself like a seraph with six wings, who was, with outstretched hands and feet bound together, nailed to a cross; two pinions were lifted over his head, two were spread out for flying and two covered the whole body. This sight filled the servant of God with the highest joy; yet what the

vision was to signify he knew not. He rejoiced over the glorious sight, that he could behold a seraph of such incomparable beauty; but his condition on the cross and the bitterness of his sufferings frightened the Saint. Thus he was standing, at once sorrowful and joyful, and joy and sorrow alternated in him; troubled, he was reflecting what this vision could signify; what its sense might be, he was <sup>sorrowfully</sup> exerting his mind to learn.

While he was vainly struggling after its comprehension, and the novelty of the sight deeply affected him, behold, his own hands and feet began to show the nail-marks, which he had seen on that man above himself. His hands and feet seemed bored through, so that the upper part of the nails appeared on the inside of the hands and on the upper surface of



the feet and the points upon the opposite side, for  
 these signs were round in the interior of the  
 hands, on the outside longish, and a little piece of  
 flesh appeared, curved back like the points of the nails,  
 which stood out above the rest of the flesh; so also  
 did the marks of the nails show themselves upon  
 the feet, and, indeed, raised above the rest of the flesh;  
 the right side disclosed a scorred stab from a lance,  
 which often bled, so that the coat was often be-  
 dewed with the holy blood. O, how few were deem-  
ed worthy during the life of the saint to behold that  
wound in the side. Happy Elias, who, while the  
 saint was living, viewed both species of <sup>the</sup> wounds!  
 More happy Rufinus who touched them with his  
 own hands. For, as once this brother Rufinus  
 brought his hand to the breast of the saint, in

order to rub it, the hand, as often at other times, chanced upon the right side and <sup>he</sup> touched the precious scar. At this contact the Saint felt no slight pain, and, thrusting back the hand, he cried out: The Lord be gracious to me, for most carefully ~~was~~ he concealing this from those without, yea, he was concealing it from his close friends, so that his most devoted disciples learned nothing about it.

So for the worshiper of the great Saint, whose report in essentials agrees with that of the legenda trium sociorum and of Bonaventura's account of the life; the last has been particularly mindful of confirmation by witnesses.— We have declared that we would preliminarily assume the genuineness

of these documents. This assumed, criticism  
 has either to prove the possibility of a <sup>deception</sup> - be it inten-  
 tional or unintentional - in the ma-  
 kers of the reports, or, should this not appear fea-  
 sible, to acknowledge the facts of the narration,  
 in which last case the effort remains to be  
 made by reference to analogies to bring the extraordinary  
 quality of the facts nearer to the course of nature known to us  
 Let us accordingly investigate first of all, <sup>how far</sup> the  
<sup>evidence of the</sup> makers of the reports can be regarded as a matter  
 of fact affair, elevated above any suspicion, not  
 merely of intentional but even of undesigned  
 deception. In Ribadeneyra, the biographer of Ignatius,  
 we have made the acquaintance of an, upon  
 the whole, not only honest but also dry and un-  
 captious observer: to be sure the possibility of dis-



honesty is hardly <sup>to be</sup> wholly excluded in the writers  
 of the Order; too many cases are known where  
 people attempted by bad means to attain the  
 good object of bringing their order into credit,  
 yea, in the Catholic Church itself the works  
 of the wounds of Catherine of Siena have been  
 treated as unreal; still we assume in the  
 biographers of St. Francis the same honesty as in  
 that of Ignatius. On the other hand, the suspicion  
 of unintentional deception is easy. The biographers  
 of St. Francis <sup>permit</sup> us to miss the characteristic  
 of mother of fact people in a high <sup>degree</sup>. Barely <sup>as to</sup> what  
 regards the tone, that narrative often becomes  
 a poetical hyperbolic parraggic. Beland exclaims.  
 At his grave new miracles continually happen  
 and through manifold supplications glorious blessings

are there extorted for soul and body; the blind see, the deaf hear, the lame walk, the dumb speak, the leper becomes clean, the tumor vanishes - the most diverse diseases are cured, so that the dead body makes living bodies well, as the <sup>one</sup> living once raised up dead souls. This is heard and understood by the High priest at Rome, the head of all priests, the prince of all Christians, the lord of the world, the shepherd of the Church, the anointed of God, the vicar of Christ; he rejoices, exults, and triumphs, since in his time he sees the church renew itself through new mysteries and old miraculous works. How great is the distinction between such pomegranate ical intonations and the New Testament accounts of miracles, how little do these allow us to expect an accurate reporter of facts! Further how is.

~~what~~ these biographers report in many ways of  
 the sort, that the illusions of a heated imagination  
 cannot be denied <sup>in</sup> them! We shall <sup>hereafter</sup> speak more  
 fully about the Saints love forecasts and <sup>other</sup> flower crea-  
 tions in general, appearing in distorted forms; here  
 we cannot pass over what those biographers  
 report to us in happy inspiration about sermons  
 which the holy man delivered to the doves and  
 crows, and how they assure us of the pious  
 interest of these hearers assuredly not easily to be won  
 over. It is stated that, in the vicinity of the city  
 of Bevagna, the pious Father surveyed a great  
 throng of doves and crows, then, on account of  
 his love even to unintelligent creatures, he hastens  
 to them, leaving his companions behind; they <sup>[the birds]</sup> continue  
 me to sit still, he greets them and begins to preach:



Belano narrates how, as the Saint dies, a brother  
 then <sup>still,</sup> alive, <sup>could</sup> saw his <sup>body</sup> as it went over many waters  
 up to heaven, comparable to a star; the skin  
 of the dead is whiter than snow, it does not become  
 hard. The limbs <sup>are</sup> composed of themselves. The marks  
 of the wounds reveal themselves on hands and feet, or  
 rather according to Belano's expression - not so  
 much the nail marks as the nails themselves  
 with the blackness of new iron, and the right side is reddened  
 with blood. -

How busy the productivity of the imagination  
 had been is no less proclaimed by the pre-  
 sence of the miraculous narratives, which be-  
 gan quite early, <sup>and</sup> had certainly not merely in-  
 tentional fraud for its basis. Bonaventura himself  
 declares that even he had also composed his

account of the life for the purpose of setting aside  
 false reports, he has more of the miraculous than  
 his predecessors while the extravagances of the  
speculum S. Francisci and in the liber con-  
formitatum rise to absurdity. Of course, the  
 faithful Catholic will respond with Goerres:  
 Without germinal form and without plastic law  
 no cristallization, so also without truth in the  
 deepest roots and organic moulding law no legend.  
 Where, however, the later reports betray so close a resem-  
 blance to the earlier, where the diversity only amounts  
 to a slight distinction of degree, and where so many  
 other circumstances make deceptions probable,  
 it becomes difficult to bring that canon into application.  
 What, finally, is more suited than everything else  
 to provoke doubt: is it not said by the narrators

themselves that so few during the life time of Francis became witnesses of the distinction bestowed upon him by God? How, now, if it stands with their testimony as with the witness of one excited person, mentioned by Celano, who saw the pious Father's soul fly upwards towards heaven? And yet this one statement <sup>has</sup> procured itself such credit, that down to this day on the festivals of this Saint in the churches of Italy his image soars to heaven in an inspired commemorative <sup>sermon</sup>.

If, however, we can treat the statements of the reporters and especially those of Bonaventura as trustworthy, we should go too far in doubt if we should wish to change the matter of fact of the wound-marks into ocular deception. On the dead <sup>Saint</sup> have, indeed, very many seen the



stigmata. Thurini protes, says Bonaventura, <sup>§</sup> 200, have seen the signs and confirmed it with mouth, also ~~some~~ cardinals have, yea, Pope Alexander IV, has in my presence borne witness, that he has seen <sup>them</sup> with his <sup>own</sup> eyes. On his death however more than fifty brothers seen them, and the divinely inspired Virgin, Clara, with her sisters and many laymen. To be sure, precisely this evidence awakens suspicion in so far as we can, according to Beland's statement, suppose only very few eyewitnesses during the lifetime of Francis.

We will, however, admit at any rate the matter of fact, and limit ourselves to the proper restriction of confessing to ourselves, that on account of the circumstances mentioned, at least the details of those reports cannot lay claim to un-

creditiional credit.

Now while this extraordinary event appears to bid defiance ~~to any~~ <sup>sign</sup> that has happened since the time of the apostles, nevertheless analogies may be pointed out which bring <sup>it</sup> into connection with better known phenomena. This inquiry puts us upon the anthropological-medical ground, and a sure answer would presuppose medical knowledge, but above all a medically exact knowledge of the character of the marks of the wounds. In <sup>the case of</sup> all other saints, however, the legend only speaks of the marks of the wounds, the pictures of Francis, too, present him with only the marks of the wounds: singularly enough, however, the old nar-

rators present such a description as though the fleshly nails were grown with the color of new iron, and, <sup>their</sup> points curved back. However, one misses real clearness in the reports: The report of the tres socii says; they have seen the fleshly nails et ferri quoque nigredinem. Belanus says: non clavorum quidem puncturas, sed ipsos clavos in eis impositos ex ferri recenti nigredine; this gives no meaning; the editors conjecture: ex ferri recenti nigredine. Yet more defective in clearness is the mention of the thing in a letter from the immediate successor of Francis in the generalship of the Minorites (in Wadding, ad annum 1226, no. 45). Here it is said: nam manus eius et pedes, quasi puncturas clavorum ha-



buesant ex utraque parte confixas, reseruantur  
cicatrices, et clavorum nigredinem asten-  
tes. According to this, scars, too, were present.  
 With this want of clearness in the reports, there  
 can be no deciding with certainty concerning  
 details. But for the fact that some appearance  
 showed itself, similar to the marks of the wounds,  
 on the body of the Saint, many an analogy  
 may be brought from the anthropological realm.

We start with the idea that Francis is to  
 be regarded as a man of great energy of imagin-  
 ation and in a greatly diseased nervous condition,  
 which last would already be supposable from  
 his many unnatural ascetic practices, which  
 also, as the reports say, subjected him during the last  
 two years of his life to persistent illnesses. In both

asine of Siena was the nervous condition so height-  
 ened that she sometimes, during ordinary conversa-  
 tions, fell into tonic spasms. From the life of St.  
 Francis we will only call to mind his enthu-  
 siastic inspiration for irrational creatures;  
 which ~~ecstatic~~ <sup>condition</sup> is presupposed not merely by the  
 sermons to animals, but also by his marvellous com-  
 merce <sup>with</sup> the forces of nature, which is uttered by  
 his Italian Hymn to <sup>the</sup> Sun wherein he jubilantly  
 sings the sun as his noble brother, the moon as  
 his sister, and the earth as his mother. It was  
 shown above (page 96) how in such a predom-  
 inance of the imagination and the nervous  
 life over the sober and healthy consciousness,  
 the involuntary embodiment of effects, calls  
 forth extraordinary phenomena, as the body

becomes an involuntary mirror of that which  
 affects the soul. Should it, indeed, be inconceiv-  
 able that in such an ecstatically disposed  
 man, through <sup>the</sup> continuous fastening <sup>off his mind</sup> upon the  
 cross of Christ in a moment when this temper was  
 especially exaggerated the image of this conception  
 should be corporally stamped upon him? Pre-  
 cisely of Francis do the toes socii report. How  
 the image of the cross early hovered before his soul,  
 how he had early heard voices from the cross;  
 the stigmatization itself took place on the <sup>festival</sup> ~~the~~  
 of the elevation of the cross (the 14 of September), and  
 indeed while he was contemplating the cross in  
 solitude; it had incorporated itself in that  
 seraphic vision before the inner eye. On  
 page 96 reference was made to instances of



the transitory incorporation of mental states from ordinary life.

Let us take some more renowned ones in which also <sup>perception is formed</sup> remote <sup>at the same time, and</sup> where the effect was at least protracted for a time. Let one <sup>narrative</sup> stand here from the life of the tenderest of all mystics, Henry Suso, who in the heart-rending description of the tortures which he inflicted on himself, mentions how he once smote himself so hard with his scourge, that a vein broke. 'At the same time', he goes on chap. 18, 'and at the same hour that <sup>he</sup> was thus smiting himself, there was a holy virgin, named Anna, who was engaged in prayer at another place in the castle. She saw in a vision that she was conducted to the spot where he was taking his discipline. As

she surveyed the hard blows, her pity was so moved that she came up to him, and as he had his arm lifted and was about to smite himself, she put herself under the blow and caught it on her <sup>arm</sup>, as it seemed to her in the vision. Now when she came to herself again, she found the blow with black blood-marks impressed on her arm, as though she had herself wielded the scourge. She carried these palpable tokens a long while with great pain.

In the Blätter of Bevorst (14<sup>th</sup> Sammlung page 50.) it is narrated: By a trustworthy friend from Moscow the following was related to the one who sends it: "As the French in the Russian war came to Moscow, a Cossack and a Frenchman met each other in a blind alley (without exit through) and struggled with each other. An inhabitant of the <sup>place</sup> had taken refuge in

the same street, could not get out of it, and fell into mortal anguish as he witnessed the fight, and when it was over got to his home, where upon his arms and the rest of the body were found the same wounds which the Cossack had given the Frenchman, so that he was bleeding and had to be treated. A similar narrative is given <sup>by</sup> Dr. Rabst in his book, Ein Wort über Ekstase, 1834. S. 19.

Entirely similar and not less noteworthy is the fact attested to us by an authority which <sup>not</sup> does allow the least misgiving of doubt, where the <sup>a young man who as</sup> sister of a soldier was adjudged to run the gauntlet, at the moment of execution - remote from him, at home in the midst of her family - whimpering and sighing in a sort of ecstasy, felt the blows which <sup>remote</sup> her brother, until she



be

tumbled down in a fainting fit and had to <sup>be</sup> taken to bed, when it was discovered that the blood was flowing down <sup>her</sup> back which looked as though cut off.

The recall also the universally known but not embodiment of the effect of horror through the sudden less noteworthy bleaching of the hair, and truly not in a transitory but in a permanent way - an experience which would only need to occur somewhat more rarely than it does occur, in order to be declared incredible. Yet such embodiments occur most perfectly, as likewise was already mentioned above, where the consciousness of the man is fully latent, in embryotic life, wherein, with animals as with men, the affections of the mother are immediately incorporated in the body of the young. Now the more kinship the ecstatic condition can have with that of

the latent consciousness in embryonic life, the more conceivable is a like dependence of man on an object outside himself, in which he has his life as genius, as, in the case before us the Saint in the crucified Christ. As a lesser potency of stigmatization can we look on what is narrated of the convulsionaries at the grave of Abbé Paris, that in consequence of the vivid conceptions of the crucifixion of the Redeemer, red spots showed themselves <sup>purple</sup> on hands and feet. This view of ours about the matter has not come from the Protestant point of view alone, Catholic theologians and philosophers have also maintained the same, as quite lately Pabst in the work mentioned already: "Ein Wort über die Ekstase"; but, yet more, this view of the subject was not foreign to the thirteenth century.

The well known author of the Golden Legend, Jacobus de Voragine, has indeed mentioned five causes of the marks of the wounds of Francis of Assisi in his two sermons on the stigmatization of the saint, and has produced as the first, his glowing imagination; he says: What effects the imagination can occasion, Jerome teaches by two instances. A lady bore a Moorish child, her husband suspected her, meanwhile it appeared that it was caused by an effigy of a Moor which she had seen. Another brought forth a child wholly unlike its parents, and <sup>was shown</sup> it, that a corresponding picture <sup>found</sup> was in the room. Further the philosopher (Aristotle) says in his book de animalibus, that a hen conquered a cock, and out of the conception of this victory



the comb and claws <sup>of</sup> a cock had grown out upon her. So did a crucified *pesaph* present himself to holy Francis in vision, and his imagination was so strong, that it impressed the wounds of the body on his body. *In harmony* with this <sup>view</sup> does Cornelius Agrippa, <sup>speaking,</sup> in many points an enlightened thinker (died 1535) in his book de vanitate scientiarum. l. l. c. 64.

At the conclusion of this exposition, which proceeded on the supposition of the authenticity of the accounts, it must not, however, be left unmentioned that precisely the authenticity of oldest report, that of Belano, is not so entirely free from doubt as we have assumed. The earliest literary-historical information of the life of Francis we owe to the learned Irish Minorite, Wadding

(died 1657). He is, however, as the editors of the Acta Sanctonum<sup>also</sup> confess, not entirely clear concerning the book in question and its author. He speaks about a small biography by Belano, which he wrote for the use of the carsons on the suggestion of Pope Gregory X., and of a large one, which he wrote on the impulse of Crescentinus, the General of the Order, and his successor, John of Parma. The existing work, which is large, must be the latter. But now this is silent about the saint's translation, which befell in the year 1230, appears also to fall earlier than that date; on the other hand John of Parma entered on his office in 1247. Thus, then, these data do not agree. Further, Waddling speaks of a description of the life, whose author, John of Ceperano, an Apostolical Notary, who is also named Thomas Belano

and the strong suspicion prevails that this name and Thomas Belano are the same person. If now we take into account that in those times books were easily interpolated, that this life by Belano is said to have existed in several different editions, then it results that we cannot exactly go back to the earliest authority with absolute critical certainty.

Yet, however it may stand with the stigmatization of the Saint of Assisi, which on account the remoteness of the times and uncritical reporters seems to elude a wholly exact critical illumination; another wonder of the same sort lies nearer us, it has appeared in Germany, it has submitted to every examination of enlightened officials and truth loving physicians: we



of Christ

mean the marks of the wounds on the person of the nun of Dülmen. To this, then, shall our investigation be directed.

## Catharina Emmerich.

In the year 1824 died in Dülmen (in Westphalia) the nun Catharine Emmerich, who not only through numerous visions, through the magical gift of distinguishing harmful and useful plants, reliquary bones from other bones, through prophecies, taking on herself the sicknesses and sufferings of others, and through a very scanty use of food, and much else of this sort, has taken a place beside the marvellous saints of the Middle Ages, but especially through the reception, in an ecstatic condition in the year 1811, <sup>of</sup> the marks of the wounds <sup>of the Lord.</sup>

Even before her entrance into a nunnery, which happened in 1802, had she in a profound contemplation viewed the Savior, as he appeared to her as a lustrous young man, a wreath of flowers in the left hand, a crown of thorns in the right, offering her the choice. She seized the latter, pressed <sup>it</sup> fervently upon her head, felt, when she came to herself again, a violent pain round about the head, and a bleeding set in. In the year mentioned, 1811, she received the signature of the cross on her breast, afterwards the remaining marks of the wounds of the Lord, from which then regularly bleedings followed on Fridays, and also afterwards near the end of the year 1819 the bleedings became rarer and finally ceased entirely, as the incrustations of blood upon hands and feet

- had fallen off, there appeared in the renewal of the skin white gleaming scars, which on Good Friday broke out afresh and bled. This is the report of eye witnesses. The canonization, <sup>which on her death was confidently</sup> hoped for <sup>by her</sup> friends, did not occur. The main document on the subject, which contains the history, comes from a year-long observer of the wonderful nun, Clemens von Brentano: 'The bitter suffering of our Lord according to the contemplations of the blessed Katharina Emmerich, Augustinian nun <sup>the</sup> of <sup>the</sup> convent at Dülmen, 2<sup>d</sup> ed. 1834. To be connected with
- this, Buchfeler: 'Of the Credibility of the Revelation concerning the bitter suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ of the blessed Katharina Emmerich <sup>her of</sup> München 1834. Analyses and estimates appeared from Steffens, Jahrb. für wissenschaftliche



Kritik, 1834. nos. 19, 20.: with reference to this review appeared the above mentioned work.

- Ein Wort <sup>über</sup> die Ekstase' by John Henry Pabst, Bologne 1834. An extended notice together with a confirmatory investigation from the realm of magnetism hereupon appeared in the Blätter aus Prevorst in the 5<sup>th</sup> Sammlung, and after this the ~~sketch~~, written with sympathetic frankness, of Schmieder in the evang. Kirchenzeitung, 1835, Nos. 23-25; and: thereupon a second ~~sketch~~ written with much insight into similar cases, from the hand of a physician, followed in Nos 44-49 of the same year.

The matter of fact in this extraordinary phenomenon can hardly be subjected to doubt; hundreds of persons have been eye witnesses,

- men like  
 amongst them, Overberg, Sailer, Count Stolberg; a  
 clerical commission from Münster, the police  
 officials and physicians have conducted observations  
 at her bed and afterwards in part given public  
 testimony. So far as information has reached  
 us from the public reports, neither the character  
 of the person nor of her surroundings justifies the  
 assumption of intentional deception; nor from  
 such an assumption would all the circumstances  
 reported admit of an explanation. We read with  
 pleasure on this point the narrative of Count Leo-  
 pold Stolberg, who in the year 1818 in company  
 with his wife and with Overberg passed some  
 days with the pious convent-maid, and whose  
 report is communicated in the Nastauer  
Kirchenzeitung of 1821, and is also reprinted in

the work by Buchfelner again. We are convinced that most readers would peruse this report in its completeness, hitherto but little known, with great pleasure, though we confine ourselves to a quotation.

Droste, Overberg and Dreffel, as physicians, journeyed to Nülnen. A physician of the place who has visited her for many years, agreed with Dreffel, that the phenomenon is not to be explained in a natural way. A physician of the place, who, before he had seen her, had sailed over her in a wine shop, had already earlier been brought by personal observations to different thoughts about her and religion. A physician from Duisburg, a Protestant, came to see her. At the inn table he sailed at her, saw her, investigated the matter, and took back at the inn table what he had said,



and explained that what he had seen on her was evidently supernatural, and spoke with deep feeling.

- She suffers incessantly from these wounds, and often has violent pain. The whole winter and spring her nourishment consisted of a glass of water a day and the juice of a little bit of apple, or a dried plum, commonly of water alone. At the time when cherries begin, she sometimes sucked out a cherry. Any other nutriment or drink she immediately vomits <sup>up</sup> again with violent pain. On account of the wounds on her feet she can neither walk nor stand, always lies in bed, and when this is <sup>to be</sup> made up, her sister has to take her into her lap. This sister is a good-natured, ordinary girl. The police Commissioner General, M<sup>r</sup>. Garnier, has visited <sup>her</sup> on official duty, has seen the marks of her wounds.

and confessed that the miracle is evident. She has been observed day and night for ten days <sup>over her</sup> by citizens of <sup>the</sup> town, who kept watch in her little room <sup>each pair</sup> two at a time, two hours. During this <sup>time</sup> she took no nourishment but water, she had not evacuated since the beginning of February. She also suffers from very heavy night-sweats, yet is in the highest degree cleanly, there is not the slightest scent in the little room. This has only one exit, and lies <sup>close</sup> upon the road, so that people can look in, also nothing can be done in the room which could not be seen. It <sup>is</sup> a great sorrow to her to show herself; she submitted to that watching in the hope of being afterwards left in peace. She cannot work, because her hands are in constant pain, and the muscles are <sup>much</sup> too weakened for persistent motion.

She lives on the small pension which is still paid to the <sup>of the</sup> ruins abolished cloister, and never accepts any presents.

After violent pains she often falls into a kind of fainting-fit, in which the eyes are fast closed, and as the physicians say, the pulse goes very gently, though regularly. Then the body becomes wholly stiff, but muscles and tendons - against the nature of ordinary cramps - are ~~entirely~~ relaxed. Then she lies many a time as though dead, has deliriums like a fever patient, but many a time, too, she speaks marvelous and beautiful things. The physicians maintained the miracle of these things cooler and louder than the clergy, because they, according to the safe rules of science, have evident data for judging the phenomenon presented.



They say it is impossible to maintain such wounds in such a condition through art, since

- they neither suppurate, nor get inflamed, nor are cured either. The doctor, who has had charge of her for eight years, has now entrusted this care to another, and this is the very man who, before he had seen her, sailed at her. The possible suspicion that the former doctor kept up the wounds must be set aside. They say it cannot be explained naturally that she with her, in itself already inconceivable fasting, and the incessant pain, which never wholly leaves her, does not pine away, grow thin, and is only somewhat pale and her glance full of the life of the mind and of love.
- Friday early the thorn-wounds on her forehead and the back of her head are wont to bleed, later in

the forenoon the eight marks of the wounds on <sup>her</sup> hands  
 and feet. For some time it has depended on her  
 self alone, whether she will receive visitors. These  
 are very burdensome to her, and the most, even  
 such as come from a distance, are sent away.  
 Only through representations of some clergymen  
 or the physician, to whom strangers are wont to  
 announce themselves, is she induced to make ex-  
 ceptions. She says she has enough <sup>to do</sup> to entrust  
 God that <sup>he will</sup> maintain her; <sup>in patience with her constant pains</sup> it is tempting God  
 to put her patience to the test through men, who,  
 for the most part, come only out of curiosity. Who-  
 ever does not believe on Jesus Christ will not <sup>soon</sup>  
 become a believer through the marks of her wounds.

This <sup>have</sup> need not surprise us, when one considers what  
 it must be, to a tender, shame-faced, <sup>man</sup> to endure the over-

flow of often indelicate, curious visitors.

Overberg announced us to her. About nine o'clock in the forenoon he conducted us to her. She received us with hearty friendliness, and was soon so at home with us, that she herself drew forth the hands from under the cloth where she <sup>is wont to</sup> keep them except the times when she shows the ~~marks~~. It was on Friday. The thorn-wounds had bled freely, and on our account she had not washed off the blood so far as the forehead was covered with blood. She now took off the hood and the cloth. The forehead and head were as though pierced through with great thorns, distinctly did we see the fresh wounds, still partly filled with moist blood; and the whole circumference of the head was bloodied. So distinctly has no painter depicted these thorn wounds.



But as soon as the place is washed off, according to  
 the testimony of all who have seen it, only bright  
 red little points, like flea-bites, are left. It is evident  
 that, if anybody should pierce through his own fore-  
 head, it would not continue ~~smooth~~ but would  
 assume <sup>sores and</sup> scars. The wound in the side lies below  
 the fourth rib, this was not bleeding, but had a  
 dark incrustation of blood two and a half <sup>long</sup> inches.  
 The nail-marks on the backs of the hands and  
 feet <sup>are</sup> about the average size of two thirds of an  
 inch; the blood-incrustations on the back of  
 the hands and feet are much thicker than on the  
 smooth sides. In general the wounds on the feet  
 are larger than <sup>those</sup> on the hands. They immediately  
 began to bleed, whereupon she also showed us the  
 feet; out of all the wounds drops of blood were pressing

forth under the incrustations. Many a time all these  
wounds <sup>bleed</sup> more abundantly, than she is greatly eased.

The double cross on the breast also bleeds. As soon as  
the blood is wiped away, only a thin bright red  
stripe shows itself in the same form. Pre-  
viously she feels a strong burning. Below this <sup>cross</sup>,  
which she knows how to show so that people see  
her breasts as little as on the uncovering of  
the side-wound, is a small, broad, grey cross,  
from which at times hot water flows, which  
we did not see. But the cross is always  
visible at the pit of the stomach.

This nun who in her childhood had  
the care of cattle and performed rough work,  
speaks in a gentle voice and expresses herself about  
religion in noble language, which she could not

born in the cloister, not only with dignity and modesty but also with an enlightened spirit. Her ingenious glance, her cheerful friendliness, her luminous wisdom, and her love breathe in everything she says. She speaks gently but with clear, pure voice. There is nothing overstrained in her expressions, because <sup>one</sup> knows nothing about overstraining. She points <sup>people</sup> away to the highest, to pure love to God ruling in all actions, words, feelings; and to toleration towards all, love to all men. To Sophie she said, 'How happy we are, to know Jesus Christ! How hard it was for our fathers, the heathen, to attain to God! For removed from exalting herself over exterior signs of the favor of God, she deems herself unworthy of them, and has with much anxiety the heavenly treasure in a fragile, earthen vessel. We saw her again in the



afternoon, each one alone, Henrietta and I some minutes, but Sophie an hour. The certainty that she will remember us, and you also, henceforth daily before the countenance of Him whose signs she bears, is a sweet thought for me.

Here speaks an observer, who, though truth-loving, noble and highly gifted, is nevertheless through his religious connections already predisposed to the recognition of the miracle. But we also possess medical testimony, and truly <sup>that</sup> of a physician, who appears predisposed to believe in the future clearing up of these matters of fact at present inexplicable to the art, of a man, too, who has observed not as a religious man but as a doctor. Obermedicinalrath von Duffel has had inserted in the Salzburger medicin :

ische Zeitschrift, a quiet, purely medical report  
jahrg. 1814. Bd. I. S. 145; Bd. II. S. 17. Since it must  
 be above all important to know the standpoint  
 of the observer, we set forth from this report which  
 according to the statement of its author,  
 is, to give only matters of fact, not explanations,  
 that especially which characterizes the point of  
 view from which the patient has been observed.

Meanwhile the fragment produced will of itself  
 aid in putting hints into the hands of the explainer.

'Unwonted phenomena' - thus the report begins -  
 'excite the attention of the explorer of nature. Sa-  
 gacity strives to find out the combination of the  
 intervening links, the reason sees gaps filled up  
 and the sphere of knowledge is extended. Some-  
 what so are the influences of the stars on the earth,  
 on the human body recognized; thus, some think,

the phenomena of the nervous system may be compared with Galvanism and animal-magnetism. Pathological anatomy gives information of vital phenomena which are a riddle to the greatest physicians; Boerhave presents such a riddle in his narrative of the illness of Admiral Wassener; it is known now that angina pectoris can stand in connection with an alteration in the vascular system, etc.

The phenomena to be described will especially attract the physicians. If the matter of fact is subject to no doubt, if no explanation is found in what we know; then with many the thought cannot be suppressed: the <sup>phenomena</sup> may indeed not be looked for <sup>in</sup> the relations of the body, they will suppose an deception, or artifice. This assumed,



is it blamable even to draw attention to such things?  
 It has not yet, perhaps, been made entirely clear  
 how far the so styled simulated diseases go; if  
 one runs through the history of such phenomena,  
 one no longer wanders over some things, and  
 some things, once looked upon as fabulous must  
 be taken literally; like <sup>the shower</sup> of stones narrated by  
 Livy; it is still a question whether the Lycan-  
thopia of the ancients, that causus of Aretaeus, in  
 which the patient becomes a soothsayer must  
 be stricken out as matter-of-fact. Physicians  
 will perhaps some day establish the principle  
 that, under certain conditions, a summons  
 to the performance of special phenomena is  
 felt in the body just as simulations of Pycha  
 belong among the most humiliating expressions of

life, referrible to habit.

- Anna Katharina Emmerich, Chor. sister of the abolished nunnery of Agnetenburg in Dill. mun, thirty-six years old, was during her ten years-long cloister life almost constantly <sup>ill, so that she was often</sup> confined to her bed several weeks. In the year 1802 the patient suffered from a bronchial catarrh, and in 1803, from a bilious intermittent fever, accompanied with costiveness, retention of urine, cramps in the head and abdomen, developed after vexations, removed by means of emetics and alteratives, which ~~were~~ followed by anti-spasmodic and tonic medicines. Hereupon the menstruation lingered, which was called out again by medicine, yet appeared from the beginning scanty and irregular. In 1804 the patient suffered <sup>from</sup> cramp trouble.

catarrhal diseases, loss of appetite, retention of urine and stools. 1805 there prevailed in the first six months troubles from worms, catarrhs, rheumatism; in October a swelling in the left side of the abdomen showed itself after exertions in putting out trash, from which three months were spent in bed. Her health was in 1806 as in 1804. Sickness of the <sup>stomach</sup> also prevailed, it was broken up by acids.

1807 happened fainting fits, retention of urine and stools, vomiting blood, loss of blood through stools, affections which were referred to the menstruation <sup>that had</sup> become irregular after 1803. In 1808 a <sup>very</sup> fever set in (an affection of the lungs, with pain, cough and fever), then periodic swelling of the abdomen, bilious vomiting, diarrhoea, and cramps. No menstruation showed itself after this time.



1809 there was frequent vomiting of blood, with oppression, pains in the chest and abdomen, the blood was thick and of brownish hue, on account of weakness the patient several times fell to the ground. In 1810 a nervous fever, setting in at the beginning of March lasted two months; in this violent illness where a cold cell was the sick room, appeared frequent sweats, fainting-spells, convulsions. In 1811 there was developed, apart from the usual rheumatic troubles, an inflammation of the eyes. In 1812 the patient was only two months out of bed, she suffered from cramps and rheumatism. 1813 some tonic and antispasmodic remedies were tried in January, but as now almost persistent vomiting of remedies as well as food came on, since then, apart from some drops of tristura opii, no drops of

medicine have been taken.

A full history of her various sicknesses cannot be expected, since what is mentioned is only matter of memory. This, too, in itself may well be an indifferent matter, since the like presents itself every day. About the determination of the source whence most of her troubles have taken their development, about their curability under favorable circumstances, if disorganization should in noway have come on, physicians will not long be of a different opinion. It can be assumed that the patient has always been treated with effective medicines, for Mr. Krauthausen, physician and surgeon, who treated the patient for ten years, is a man of many years experience, who is very well instructed in

the course and method of curing ordinary  
 diseases, who has busied himself so creditably  
 with surgery and obstetrics, that public opinion  
 as well as that of the physicians <sup>of these regions</sup> is entirely in his  
 favor. Only, in so far as what precedes must be  
 taken into consideration in reference to the sequel,  
 let it be observed, that the frequent catarrhs and  
 rheumatism, the affection of the chest, can be en-  
 tirely overlooked so far as inducements to them  
 lay in the weather, season of the <sup>year</sup> and manner of life;  
 that the sickness in 1803, might have important  
 consequences, with which perhaps the swelling of the  
 left side, since a weakened visceral habit might ensue <sup>have</sup>  
 and the later phenomena, as in the morbus niger,  
 might be connected, <sup>therewith</sup> if not the exact opposite,  
 a special condition was in the body, of which as



well these phenomena, as the intermittent fever, the cramps and the menstrual disorder were results. In any event the oppressions suffered indicate clearly that Anna Katharina Emmerich has a weak bodily constitution.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of March 1813 pastor and deacon Stensing reported to the clerical officials: That Anna Katharina Emmerich, for some months, while keeping her bed, <sup>has</sup> taken neither medicine nor other nourishment than cold water, in which some drops of wine are mixed, for three or four weeks she ~~has taken~~ the water without any addition, whatever else she may try to take, she is forced to throw off by vomiting withal she sweats a great deal, so that she commonly <sup>at evening</sup> is as though dragged through <sup>water</sup>. Generally a fainting fit comes on in the evening, during this fainting fit,

or ecstasy she is as stiff as a stick of wood, so that  
 the whole body is laid on one side like a pole,  
 to which her head is leaned by some hand; in this  
 condition the hue of her countenance is ~~forid~~ <sup>gl</sup>, and  
 if then, even in a painful manner, the priestly  
 benediction is given her, she immediately raises  
 her hand, marks herself with <sup>the</sup> sign of the cross; in  
 such ecstasy she has disclosed to her confessor, and  
 to the pastor, things which she can only know from  
 higher inspiration; yet what most distinguishes  
 the patient, consists of a bloody wreath about the  
 head, of marks of the wounds on hands, feet,  
 and side, and ~~off~~ two to three crosses upon the breast; the  
 latter, as well as the former, often bleed, yet the latter  
 customarily on Wednesday, the former on Friday,  
 and indeed so freely that sometimes thick drops roll down.

To this report... are attestation<sup>was</sup> attached from the  
 physicians of this place, Mr. Krauthausen, Dr. Wesener,  
 from Pastor Stensing, from her confessor Mr. Limberg,  
 from a French clergyman, residing at the patient's  
 abode, Mr. Jean Martin Lambert; by this attes-  
 tation was the communication of the Sacrament confirmed,  
 and various utterances of the patient appended. In  
 the report it is further mentioned, that Miss Em-  
 merich had been very religious from her youth up,  
 that she knows no greater gift<sup>than</sup> that of submission to the will of  
 God, particularly<sup>in</sup> the hour of trial, in order to be-  
 come like the crucified Redeemer. In the convent  
 Emmerich had been regarded as a pious enthu-  
 siast, because she commonly took the Communion  
 several times in the week, spoke enthusiastically of the  
 blessedness of those who suffer, along with to additional devotional exercises.



and sometimes <sup>take account of</sup> had let a word drop about visions and revelations.

In order to the actual fact more exactly the clerical officials several times betook themselves to Emmerich; this gave me occasions to observe Emmerich often. What presented itself on the 28<sup>th</sup> of March at 5 o'clock in the afternoon is the following: The figure of Emmerich lying in bed showed illness, the face was pale, the body seemed <sup>to</sup> lean. On coming into the room, she started as though frightened, which is wont to be repeated whenever a person enters the room unexpectedly to her. No token of expectation, joy or surprise showed itself, however, in her physiognomy. When <sup>it</sup> was signified to Emmerich that the religious authorities wished <sup>to</sup> ascertain her condition, she was contented with everything, she showed her hands, feet, breast and side without a struggle. On

the back of her hands, of her feet, on the interior sur-  
 face of the hands, under the soles of her feet wounds were  
 shown; the wounds of the back of the hands and the  
 feet appeared to be longer than those in the palm of  
 of the hands, under the soles of the feet; how much  
 of the substance of the skin <sup>might</sup> have been injured could  
 not be determined with the naked eye. On the wounds  
 lay a blood crust, thin as paper. The skin near the  
 wounds was spotted with blood. Gentle contact with  
 the wounds is said to be painful; true it is that on any  
 light contact of the wounds, even on the moving of the  
 middle finger, the arm trembled. In the right side  
 on the fourth rib a mark showed itself in the form of a  
 stripe, several lines in breadth, and about two inches in length.  
 This appeared to be no wound. On the breast or rather for  
 the most part on the breast-bone, was the sign of a

peculiarly formed, as it were, double cross, consisting of simple, connected strokes. Below the cross was found a greyish spot, in the form and of the bigness of a four leaved clover-head, laid unfolded. From this spot at the beginning much burning moisture is said to have flowed.

Expressions of the patient were: 'It is very hard to obliged to submit to such investigations - she desires only to be submissive to the will of God.'

After finishing observations, my opinion was this: we must expect from time further enlightenment as to the nature of the wounds, the blood and the unconsciousness. The wound appears to be not artificial, there appear here no traces of exterior operations, nothing crushed, nothing irritated, nothing cut; no sign appeared of any m.



bescent, corrosive substance, nor of sucking by leeches,  
 in <sup>her</sup> behavior is found neither explanation nor  
 suspicious things. Assuming that the wounds  
 are artificially produced, to keep them up with-  
 out suppuration, as is affirmed, would be a prob-  
 lem difficult to solve. It must accordingly be  
 supposed that the phenomena must be grounded  
 on peculiar conditions of the body, the special  
 personality must also be further observed. As the  
 patient wished to provoke no stir, neither mediating  
 nor immediately derived any gain from her suf-  
 fering, and, speaking briefly, had no trace of a liar or  
 deceiver about her, it was deemed unloving to  
 employ any coercion without <sup>her</sup> consent. Violent re-  
 moval from her place of abode, from her surroundings,  
 violent trials of any kind, if this should in other

circumstances

also, be regarded as a gentle and safe method, were deemed inadmissible. Mr. Krant-  
hausen <sup>modily</sup> undertook with all carefulness to ob-  
serve the patient further and act according to  
circumstances. It was agreed to wash the wounds  
clean with cold water, and dry bandage them, so  
that the toes and the fingers should have no free  
motion for a week. The result of the observations  
of Mr. Kranthausen from the first to the seventh  
of April is this: . . . . .

: That the washing clean the wounds  
on <sup>the</sup> hands and feet, also the bloody spots on the head,  
with the greatest precaution on the 1<sup>st</sup> of April,  
was very painful. In the night from 1<sup>st</sup> to 2<sup>d</sup>  
April, the patient sweat so that shirt, bedclothes,  
and pillows were wet through; after <sup>violent</sup> pains.

the head bled so that the blood trickled down to the breast. On the back of the hands and feet the blood penetrated the bandages all through. In washing the blood off the head, it appeared that the blood poured out of numberless little points. Towards evening, on taking her out of bed, a fainting fit set in which lasted three quarters of an hour, during this the muscles of the neck were stiff, the limbs felt cold, the pulse was hardly perceptible, the face red, previously she had sweated much. On the 3<sup>d</sup> towards noon on the back of the right hand and both feet the blood had come through the bandages, as it seemed, more profusely than yesterday. Towards evening as the patient sat upon the lap of a lady, an unconscious condition came on; when the patient was again laid in bed, she quickly raised herself up, fell on her knees



- at the foot of her bed, continued with her arms <sup>strongly</sup> raised up into the air and her hands spread out twenty minutes, in which period head and arms could not be moved on account of stiffness; Kissed a picture of the blessed Virgin, fastened upon the curtain of the bed, two separate times, then bowed until the head almost reached down to her knees, remained so six minutes more, and threw herself upon her back. After a quarter of an hour consciousness returned, she gave proper answers to questions, declared, she knows not whether <sup>anything</sup> nor what had happened to her. On the 4<sup>th</sup> on account of a special <sup>the bandages were loosened</sup> demand through Mr Krauthausen. There appeared, what had never yet been observed, on the back of the left and under the sole of the right foot suppuration; with some pressure, two drops of pus came to light, of good quality, of white color. In order that the wounds might

not again cleave together so strongly, they were covered with  
 a plaster. On the 5<sup>th</sup> morning were the bandages on  
 both hands and feet wet through with blood; the patient  
 complained of increased pains in those parts, on  
 account of which pains the plasters were omitted, and  
 as the wounds were washed out, again bound with dry,  
 clean linen. No trace of pus could be detected. On the 6<sup>th</sup>  
 morning had the blood out of all the wounds penetrated the  
 bandages on hands and feet; the pains, grown more  
 tolerable after the removal of the plasters, increased towards  
 noon, and the bleeding appeared more abundant yet  
 in the bandages. In the afternoon the bleeding seemed  
 to have ceased, the bandages felt stiff<sup>and</sup> dry. The pains  
 grew farther in the hands and feet, she complained  
 of a burning and pain in the chest and head. On ac-  
 count of these pains and her weakness, the patient was not

taken out of bed.

In the night the patient was delirious. At seven o'clock on the 7<sup>th</sup> morning the cross and the side bone gave to bleed.'

From the conclusion of <sup>this</sup> section the following words may also find a place; In explaining this phenomenon (which is here beforehand given up), would the ratio of the excretions to one another, the activity of the functions of the lungs, which, to judge from long conversations, appears until now to be energetic, have to be considered. The hibernation of many animals, the observations on the hunger of spiders and of cold blooded animals, the life of frogs in blocks of marble, etc, would be considered, just as it also appears to result from Abernethy's experiments that animals can live long on air and water.

If we were obliged to content ourselves in



- the case of Francis of Assisi, in default of more exact accounts, with inferring only hypothetically such anthropological and psychological dispositions as somnambulism also presents, the observers of the nun of Dülmen mention many incontestible signs, <sup>that</sup> we have here to deal in part with somnambulist conditions. In her physical condition the patient is in the highest degree nervous and subject to continuous attacks of tetanus and other affections. Add to this an irregular circulation of the blood and hysterical sufferings.
- That reporter, who moreover would willingly represent the powers of his saint as supernatural, has preserved the noteworthy information that; 'There are truly', says he, 'in the native region of the girl (in the district of Bresfeld) now and <sup>many of</sup> again the so

called Gicker, that is, peers (Gucker), who foresee in  
 pictures cases of death, weddings, movements of troops,  
 such an endowment as is epidemic in Scotland  
 under the name of second sight. It is also said that  
 she has from a very early time collected curative sim-  
 ples unknown <sup>as such</sup> to anybody. It is narrated how  
 she at times with pains and skill at night without lights  
 has sewed together garments for the children of poor  
 lying-in women out of many tatters, and on the morrow  
 had wandered greatly over it: hence unconscious  
 action such as appears in sleep-walkers. Shall we  
 under these circumstances be able to doubt that <sup>the</sup> method  
 of explaining the stigmatization which we employed  
 with Saint Francis is the one to apply here? Here the  
 not unimportant circumstance should be noted,  
 that the cross on her breast had the precise form

of the church cross in Dülmen. As it concerns  
 the bleedings - according to Brentano these  
 have <sup>never</sup> showed themselves in any but women saints -  
 in the highest degree worthy of observation is  
 what that medical observation reports about the  
 irregularity of the menstruation and the circulation  
 of the blood, and thus then we cannot avoid accept-  
 ing <sup>in essentials</sup> that explanatory exposition which a medical  
 observer has given in the evangelical Kirchenzeitung.  
 While we communicate his words, we only had  
 it necessary further to add that his somewhat  
 indelicately <sup>expressed</sup> references to the influence of  
 the sexual impulse, over which Catholic writers  
 have expressed themselves with ... anger,  
 certainly can only refer to a wholly unconscious action of the  
 sexual impulse in the pious nun.



- It is known, says that observer, that, for instance, in night-mare (incubus) something similar occurs - Those persons who suffer from such attacks, see in a half-wakeful condition some kind of a monster, a ~~goblin~~, a fiery steed, a wild, gigantic man move slowly past. This figure then plants itself on the region of the heart, and presses the tormented persons together so that they are hardly able to breathe nor with all their efforts to move a limb. After the attack, then, <sup>one</sup> often sees blue spots (suggillations); also ~~many~~ maintain, real imprints from the <sup>goblin</sup> upon the very place where the monster sat. I myself know a person who maintains that a ghost which she has been compelled to carry a good bit by broad daylight, had impressed the blue spots upon her back which she afterwards showed again and again to <sup>people</sup> familiar <sup>with her</sup> ~~people~~.

I myself have never been able to see them.

Now, as it concerns the suggillations (local suffusions of blood under the cellular tissue of the outer skin) which

- nightmare produces, I am able to appeal to experience known to me. But from this it by no means follows that an actual objectively present monster has occasioned these contusions. One may confidently assume that the magical imagination <sup>set</sup>aging <sup>goblin</sup> through local blood pressure has first forged a <sup>cause</sup> and then after its magical fashion by reaction produced the suffusion of blood on the oppressed spot. That this again is a deception of the magical imagination, that one needs at least for the explanation of this fact no <sup>goblin</sup>, appears among things from another fact. Every experienced surgeon knows that amputated persons, who have lost an arm or leg, in the first days after the operation

- almost always <sup>feel</sup> violent pains, not indeed in <sup>the</sup> wounds  
 of amputation, but in the amputated limb, which  
 has perhaps been already buried. Although fully  
 convinced of the illusion, they are nevertheless  
 unable to control the obstinacy of the non-ecstatic  
 imagination which irresistibly transfers the  
 pains from the proper wounds to the imaginary am-  
 putated limb. The non-magical <sup>imagination,</sup> accordingly, can  
 produce such illusions with the judgment unweak-  
 ened. Why may not - so I now ask - the mag-  
 ical imagination of an ecstatic nun (who  
 has probably already long since given herself up  
 to such <sup>fantastic</sup> ideas) be able to give <sup>involuntarily</sup> such a direction  
 to the circulation of the blood as is required in order  
 to <sup>the</sup> production of a miracle on her own body?

Another phenomenon of errant natural forces



only less striking on account of its frequent occurrence is the following: we see how often nature produces ~~wonderful~~ growths (the so-called spurious growths) warts, wens, polyps, etc., yea, even horns on the upper surface of the skin, and provides them with nerves and blood vessels. Here, too, we see an abnormal direction of the reproductive power, which calls out new abnormal growths. Why, then, shall we refuse to this magically creative force of the isostatic soul such a power, that it, according to the same law of self-form wandering, may also produce

● local swellings of the cellular ~~tissue~~ and then likewise actual bleedings? Is not this all the more easily conceivable, when at the same time we observe that such bleedings according to the author of the report, <sup>have even</sup> occurred often, but always only in women saints.

Is not this phenomenon doubly easy to explain, <sup>in the feminine frame</sup> since it already produces upon itself more superfluous blood than is required for self-maintenance, consequently, on such an error of nature, can produce the materials for it? Must not this explanation <sup>be</sup> yet more evident, when we consider that Emmerich was probably intended by nature rather for a mother than a nun? Does not the thing become yet clearer when we consider her age (she was twenty-four)? And, moreover, what shall we say to the fact that <sup>to her</sup> the Saviour no longer appeared a child, as in her childhood, but a splendid youth? Have we not full cause to assume that the ~~ecstasy~~ mentioned was connected with a preceding violent physical and psychological sexual excitement?

I, for my part, nowise deny the narrated fact of bleeding.

## Emmerich

I also pronounce "free of all known deception."

I believe that she was as much convinced of the objectivity of the 'brilliant youth,' as right-minded patients are of the presence of a monster. But I do not believe that the <sup>youth</sup> Saviour appeared to her.

I hold the brilliant for a product of her erotically excited womanly nature, and the ensuing bleedings for reactions of her excited nervous system upon the system of the capillary blood vessels at the bleeding points of the exterior covering of the head.

But still, as I well know, the periodical recurrence of those bleedings remains unexplained.

For with that ~~ecstatic~~ excitement would, indeed, a single congestion of the <sup>blood in</sup> the cellular system of the hair of the head, and a single bleeding from the system of the hair vessels <sup>be explained</sup>. But how does it stand with the later



repeated bleedings, which, it is known, did not take place in special periods of ecstatic excitement, but on fixed days, later on fixed festivals?

Listen yet further. All physicians, in some degree experienced, know that certain diseases, when once they have appeared in their full strength, leave behind a certain predisposition, and that relapses are only to be guarded against with great pains and carefulness. Who, for instance, does not know that a convalescent chills-and-fever patient needs only to <sup>pass</sup> over a small brook in order on the spot to get a relapse? To whom is it unknown that the mere aspect of a fever patient may stir up the fever again <sup>in such</sup> a convalescent? How easily nervous diseases, especially cramps, have relapses, and what petty <sup>causes</sup> can <sup>often</sup> awaken them, is unhappily only too well-known. From all

which it results that the first definite outbreak  
 of a sickness increases one's aptitude<sup>to it</sup>, and the afterwards  
 far slighter<sup>causes</sup> may awaken the disease again than those  
 were which at first called it into being. Still  
 more yet. This aptitude to abnormal vital  
 activity, which has ~~once~~ with special  
 violence, laid hold of the organization involves it-  
 self quite peculiarly in certain sexual functions  
 of the human body. To what doctor were the  
 strange ways unknown which nature is  
 often apt to run into, in anomalies of the business of  
 menstruation? Hence, in whatever manner,  
 the normal circulation (round) is shattered and  
 disturbed, then how long do often the strangest  
 bleedings from quite distant organs come on again?  
 — Who as a physician, for example, has :

heard nothing of a regular bleeding from the  
thumb, the ripples, the eyes, yea has not him-  
self seen the like?"



The same remarkable occurrences are also matter of current history in Catholic lands. It is stated by a writer who has investigated the subject with much care that one hundred and fifty three cases of stigmatization are reported to have occurred. Eight of these were still alive as late as the year 1879.

The best known of these stigmatized individuals, both on account of the number of persons who have visited the sufferers and <sup>for themselves,</sup> seen the marvellous scars, and of the careful scientific investigations to which she has been subjected, is Louise Lateau. Dr. William A. Hammond, Professor of diseases of the mind and the nervous system in the Medical department of the University of the City of New York,

in his book on "Fasting Girls," gives the following account of this case.

"Louise Lateau was born in Bois-d'Haine, a small village in Belgium, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of January, 1850. She was reared in the utmost poverty, was chlorotic, and did not menstruate until she was eighteen years old. She loved solitude and silence, and when not engaged in work - and she does not appear to have worked much - she spent her time in meditation and prayer. She was subject to paroxysms of ecstasy, during which, like many other ecstasies, she spoke very edifying things of charity, poverty, and the priesthood. She saw St. Ursula, St. Roch, St. Theresa, and the Holy Virgin. People who saw her in these

states declared that, while lying on the bed, her whole body was raised up more than a foot high, the heels alone being in contact with the bed.

The stigmatization occurred very soon after these seizures. On a Friday she bled from the left side of her chest. On the following Friday this flow was renewed, and in addition, blood escaped from the dorsal surfaces of both feet; and on the third Friday not only did she bleed from the side and feet, but also from the dorsal and palmar surface of both hands. Every succeeding Friday the blood flowed from these places, and finally other points of exit were established on the forehead and between the shoulders.

At first these bleedings only took place in the night, but after two or three months they occurred



in the daytime, and were accompanied by paroxysms of ecstasy, during which she was insensible to all external impressions, and acted the passion of Jesus and the crucifixion.

M. Warlomont, being commissioned by the Royal Academy of Medicine of Belgium to examine Louise Latan, went to her house, accompanied by several friends, and made a careful examination of her person. At that time, Friday morning at six o'clock, the blood was flowing <sup>freely</sup> from all the stigmata. In a few minutes the sacrament would be brought her, and then the second act of the drama would begin. The scene which followed can be best described in M. Warlomont's words:

"It is a quarter past six. 'Here comes the communion' said M. Niels [a priest] knelt down.

Louise fell on her knees on the floor, closed her eyes and crossed her hands, on which the communion-cloth was extended. A priest, followed by several acolytes, entered; the penitent put out her tongue, received the holy wafer, and then remained immovable in the attitude of prayer.

We observed her with more care than seemed to have been given her at such periods. Some thought that she was simply in a state of meditation, from which she would emerge in the course of half an hour or so. But it was a mistake. Having taken the communion, the penitent went into a special state. Her immobility was that of a statue, her eyes were closed; on raising the eyelids the pupils were seen to be largely dilated, immovable, and apparently insensible to light. Strong pressure

made upon the parts in the vicinity of the stigmata caused no sensation, though a few minutes before they were exquisitely tender. Picking the skin gave no evidence of the slightest sensibility. A limb, on being raised, offered no resistance, and sank slowly back to its position. Anaesthesia was complete, unless the cornea remained still impressible. The pulse had fallen from 120 to 100 pulsations.

At a given moment I raised one of the eyelids and <sup>quickly</sup> touched the cornea. Louise at once seemed to recover herself from a sound sleep, arose and walked to a chair, upon which she seated herself. "This time", I said, "we have awakened her". "No", said M. Niels, looking at his watch, "it was time for her to awake".

She remained conscious; the blood still continued to flow; the anaesthesia had ceased, her pulse



rose <sup>to</sup> 120, and at the end of half an hour she was  
 herself. Our first visit ended here. At half past  
 eleven we made another visit. The poor child  
 had resumed her attitude of extreme suffering,  
 against which she contended with all the en-  
 ergy that remained to her. The wounds in the  
 hands still continued to bleed. M. Verriest aus-  
 cultated with care the lungs, heart, and great vessels,  
 and found the truit de souffle, which he had  
 detected in the morning at the apex of the heart  
 and over the carotids. The handle of a spoon pressed  
 against the velum, the base of the tongue, and the  
 pharynx, provoked no effort at vomiting. The glasses  
 of our spectacles, as they came in contact with the  
 expired air, were covered with vapor. As the patient  
 appeared to suffer from our presence, we went away.

We made our third visit at two o'clock. There were still fifteen minutes before the beginning of the ~~ecstatic~~ crisis, which always took place punctually at a quarter past two and ended at about half past four. The pupils at this time were slightly contracted, the eyelids were almost entirely closed; the eyes, looking at nothing, were veiled from our view. We tried in vain to attract her attention; her mind was otherwise engaged, and her pains were evidently becoming more intense. At exactly a quarter past two her eyes became <sup>fixed</sup> in <sup>an upward</sup> direction and to the right. The ~~ecstasy~~ had begun.

The time had now come to introduce those who were prompted by curiosity. This could now be done without inconvenience, for the ~~ecstatic~~, for the ensuing two hours, would be lost to

the appreciation of what was passing around her. The room crowded, could hold about ten persons, but enough were allowed to enter to make the total twenty-five. These placed themselves in two ranks, of which the front one kneeling, allowed the rear one to see all that was going on. All this was done under the direction of M. Le Cure, who took every pains to give us a good view of what was going to happen.

Louise was seated on the edge of her chair; her body, inclined forward, seemed to wish to follow the direction of her eyes, which did not look but were fixed on vacancy. Her eyes were opened to their fullest extent, of a dull lustreless appearance, turned above and to the right, and of an absolute immobility. A few workings of



the lids were now observed and became more frequent if the <sup>upper</sup> lids were touched. The pupils, largely dilated, showed very little sensibility to light, and all that remained of vision was shown by slight winking when the hand was suddenly brought close to the eyes. The whole face lacked expression. At certain moments, either spontaneously or as a consequence of divers provocations, a light smile, to which the muscles of the face generally did not contribute, wandered over her lips. The face resumed its primitive expression, and thus she remained for half an hour which constituted the first station.

The 'second station' was that of genuflection. She had failed at one time, but had again appeared. The young girl fell on her knees, clasped her hands, and remained for about a quarter of an hour in the attitude of

contemplation. Then she arose and resumed her sitting posture.

The 'third station' began at three o'clock.

Laurie inclined herself a little forward, raised her body slowly, and then extended herself at full length, face downward, on the floor. There was neither rigidity nor extreme precipitation; nothing in fact, calculated to produce injuries. The knees first supported the body, then it rested on these and the elbows, and finally her body was brought in actual close contact with the tiled floor. At first the head rested on the left arm, but very soon the patient made a quick and sudden movement, and the arms were extended from the body in the form of a cross. At the same time the feet were brought together so that the dorsum

of the right was in contact with the sole of the left foot. This position did not vary for an hour and a half. When the end of the crisis approached, the arms were brought close to the sides of the body, then suddenly the poor girl rose to her knees, her face turned to the wall, her cheeks became colored, her eyes regained their expression, her countenance expanded and the ecstasy was at an end. 'Marlborough'

Further particulars are given, and an apparatus was constructed and applied to Louise's hand and arm so as to prevent any external excitation of the hemorrhage. It was apparently shown that there was no such interference, for the blood began to flow at the usual time on Friday.

In addition to the stigmata and the paroxysms of ecstasy, Louise declared that she did not sleep,



had eaten or drunk nothing for four years, had had no fecal evacuation for three years and a half, and that the urine was entirely suppressed.

M. Warlomont examined the blood and products of respiration chemically, and satisfied himself of their normal character, except that the former contained an excessive amount of white corpuscles.

On being closely interrogated, Louise admitted that, though she did not sleep, she had short periods of forgetfulness at night. On M. Warlomont suddenly opening a cupboard, he found it to contain fruit and bread, and her chamber communicated directly with a yard at the back of the house. It was, therefore, perfectly possible for her to have slept, eaten, defecated, and urinated, without any one knowing that she did so.

The conclusions arrived at by M. Warlomont were, that the stigmatisations and ecstasies of Louise Lateau were real and to be explained on well-known physiological and pathological principles, that she worked and dissipated heat, that she lost every Friday a certain amount of blood by the stigmata, that the air she expired contained the vapor of water and carbonic acid, that her weight had not materially altered since she had come under observation. She consumes carbon and it is not from her own body that she gets it. Where does she get it from? Physiology answers, 'she eats.' Hammond's "Fasting Girls," pages 41-7.

It will be seen that nearly all the best informed persons report such facts as falling under their own observations as hardly leaving room for doubting that stigmatizations occur. The scientific men whose observations and discussions have <sup>now</sup> been brought forward have plainly felt the evidence too strong to be rejected without falling back <sup>upon</sup> increasing and absolute skepticism. The men who think that such phenomena as they describe <sup>are</sup> not explicable by science at its actual stage of advancement are as thoroughly convinced of the reality of these events as those who venture upon more or less successful explanations. It is needless to say that the great body of intelligent judges reject the Catholic interpretation of such facts as miraculous, and think the scientific solutions



the real ones. Let us consider the implications of this conclusion.

Here we have the doctrine set forth on a broad scale that mental states and dominant ideas are, in certain persons of the hysterical temperament, the originators of physical changes. The Catholic belief that the age of miracles did not end with the <sup>that they</sup> Apostolic times, have taken place in many lands, and may be wrought anywhere, is the basis, <sup>on which</sup> the "expectancy" of miracles grows up in devout Catholics. The cases that have been reported as happening to some of the most eminent saints, like St. Francis and Catherine of Siena, as well as to peasants <sup>like</sup> Lavinie Latour and Anna Katharine Emmerich, naturally strengthen the idea that any <sup>faithful</sup> Catholic may have like experiences. The recognition of the stigmatization of St. Fran-

cis as one of the reasons for his canonization by Pope Alexander II., would afford the firmest basis for <sup>an</sup> "expectancy" of the stigmata; the definition of papal infallibility would be a new prop. for such ideas. The Catholic usage of prayers to saints naturally would render their example more potent over any who used such devotions. Perhaps all the recently stigmatized saints used prayers like this which is taken from a prayer book published in Münster not twenty miles from <sup>the stigmatized</sup> Sülm, the home of ~~von~~ Emmerich, in 1857. As <sup>and this</sup> the book is in its sixteenth edition doubtless the ~~man~~ <sup>man</sup>,

"Prayer to Saint Francis of Assisi.

Glorious Patriarch, St. Francis, thou who, flaming with the fire of divine love, and adorned with the marks of the wounds of the crucified Saviour, didst contemplate his love day and night with

warmest sympathy, and through thy burning  
 zeal didst lead many souls to him, wound  
 my cold heart <sup>with</sup> a ray of thy glory, that I like thee  
 may despise the world and its vanity, may crucify  
 my flesh and its lusts, and through true poverty of  
 spirit, through gentleness and meekness of heart,  
 may walk on the way which Jesus Christ, through  
 his bitter pain hath opened for us! Thy seraphic  
 love inflame my lukewarmness! Thy deep in-  
 word meditation awoken in me the  
 gift of inword prayer; thy holy and mighty  
 protection accompany me through this dangerous  
 life, thy marvelous renunciation spur me on,  
 to release my heart from all love to transitory things,  
 that my soul in death may soar upward to Jesus,  
 its God and its love, and may possess him in eternal rapture.



Such a series of facts enables <sup>us</sup> to feel certain that the expectation of witchcraft was strong enough in the <sup>girl at</sup> Salem to have produced any bodily bruises and hurts exhibited on the persons of the <sup>with the exceptions already made</sup> witnesses. We can believe that Mercy Lewis was really pinched black and blue by the appearance of Jacobs, that Ann Putnam sr. was bitten by Rebecca Nurse about two o'clock, and that she told the truth when she said Rebecca Nurse had ~~struck~~ her "with her chain, the mark being a kind of round ring and three strokes across the ring, she had six blows with a chain in the space of half an hour, and she had one remarkable one with six strokes across her arm." If the expectancy of stigmatization can produce the phenomena we have described.

as having been performed on the bodies of  
 religious men in their serene and pious re-  
 tirement from the noise of a sinful world,  
 the more terrible faith formerly held by all  
 men as to the power of wizzards to afflict their  
 foes might reasonably be expected to produce suf-  
 ferings quite as terrible as any we find on  
 record amongst the proceedings inquired into at Salem,  
 like these: "George Herrick and George Putnam  
 testify and say, that, being at the house of the fore-  
 said John Putnam, they both saw Mercy Lewis  
 in a very dreadful condition, so that to  
 our apprehension she could not continue  
 long in this world, without a mitigation  
 of those torments we saw her in,  
 which caused us to expedite a hasty

despatch to apprehend Mary Easty, in hopes, if possible, it might save her life; and, returning the same night to said John Putnam's house about midnight, we found the said Mercy Lewis in a dreadful fit, but her reason was then returned. Again she said, 'What! have you brought the winding sheet, Goodwife Easty? Well, I had rather go into the winding sheet than set my hand to the book;' but after that her fits were weaker and weaker, but still complaining. About break of day she fell asleep, but still continues extremely sick, and was taken with a dreadful fit just as we left her; so that we perceived life in her, and that was all."

Putnam's Wordworth's Salem Witchcraft, vol. II. 31  
Edward, describes the same scene thus:



I myself, being there present with several others, looked for nothing else but present death for almost the space of two days and a night. She was choked almost to death, inso-much that we thought sometimes that she <sup>was dead</sup>; her mouth and teeth <sup>set</sup>; and all this very often until such time as <sup>we</sup> under-  
stood Mary Easty was laid in irons. <sup>ibid. p. 42.</sup>

This is only a slight example of of the sort of sufferings reported of all the ac-cusers. This shuts out the supposition that their sufferings resulted wholly from at-tacks of hysteria, since Dr. Hammond says: "real suffering is a condition which the hys-terical woman avoids with the most assiduous care." Hence we may infer that while the hysterical

temperament may be at work in many of the cases in setting loose the mischief, it is not the sole nor the <sup>cause</sup> main<sub>er</sub> of such sufferings.

- But there is one point where the phenomena of the stigmatized persons shows not the slightest resemblance to the Solene performances; for these good people, though they were honored by visits from <sup>glorified</sup> seraphs and angels, and saints like St. Ursula, Saint Roch, St. Theresa, the Holy Virgin, and Jesus Christ, were not able to show any material things which they <sup>had</sup> with holy boldness possessed themselves of, or which had been graciously bestowed on them <sup>some of</sup> unmasked. But the Solene sufferers had much more solid and real proofs to exhibit of <sup>the</sup> malice of wiggards. They could materialize as skillfully as <sup>a</sup> modern Spiritualistic quack:

"Sundry pins have been taken out of the hands and arms of the afflicted; and one, in time of examination of a suspected person, had



a pain run through both her upper and lower lip when she was called to speak, yet no apparent festering followed thereupon, after it was taken out.

Some of the afflicted, as they were striving in their fits in open court, have (by invisible means) had their wrists bound fast together with a real cord so that it could hardly be taken off without cutting. Some afflicted have been found with their <sup>arms</sup> tied, and hanged upon a hook, from whence others have been forced to take them down, that they might not expire in that posture.

An iron spindle of a woollen wheel, being taken very strangely out of an house at Salem Village, was used by a spectre as an instrument of torture to a sufferer, not being discernible, until it was, by the said sufferer, <sup>apparent</sup> snatched out of the spectre's hand, and then it did <sup>appear</sup> in some.

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distely to the persons present to be really the same iron spindle." Upham, vol. II. 530.

Here we see the part played by fraud and shift of hand in these transactions. So far as we are able to fix the responsibility for such doings, only two or three persons, and they the less important witnesses, have any part in these knaveries. For them it is only just to observe that they are the same persons who are most clearly shown <sup>have</sup> to be of the most excitable hysterical temperament. Our judgment <sup>of these</sup> should be qualified by Dr. Hammond's words.

"Hysteria is a disease as much in some cases beyond the control of the patient as inflammation of the brain or any other disease. A proclivity to simulation and deception is just as much a symptom of hysteria as pain is of

pleasing. To say, therefore, that Miss Fancher simulated abstinence and deceived as to the amount of food she took, is no imputation on her honesty, or questioning her possession of as high a degree of honor and trust as can be claimed for any one. Other women, naturally as <sup>moral</sup> as she, have under the influence of hysteria perpetrated the grossest deceptions, and they are not infrequently manifested in the very same way that hers apparently are. <sup>Hammond's "Fasting Girls", page 5-6.</sup>

I think no ~~medical~~ <sup>at Salem,</sup> man can read the testimony of the witnesses, and especially that of the witnesses most involved in the introduction of the fraudulent elements of the case, without seeing that they were wild with hysterical excitement, which often was not far removed from absolute mania. But it is



necessary in order to feel the full <sup>force</sup> of the evidence  
 to study the condition of the accusers' <sup>minds not</sup> in the story  
 as told by Upham, who <sup>has</sup> parcelled it out and  
 given it in dribblets, but to read the <sup>whole</sup> evidence of each  
 witness by itself, and then the sworn evidence  
 of all the the girls <sup>at</sup> one perusal, as the indexes <sup>eyes</sup>  
 appended to Woodward's "Salem Witchcraft"  
 are able to do without any difficulty to do.

It is further worthy of note that the degree to which mental expectancy can effect changes in the holder's body appears not only in the wounds, scars and bleedings thus induced but especially in their appearing on the due places on the hands, feet, and side, as well as the position of the thorn-marks about the head. Then the time of their first appearance on Louise Latour and Anna K. Emmerich, was on Friday, and then the stigmata regularly bled on every succeeding Friday. In Emmerich alone appeared the singular fact, that when towards the end of 1819 the bleedings first grew rarer and then wholly ceased, the white-glowing scars which appeared in the new skin on the former localities of the stigmata, broke out and bled afresh on every successive Good Friday. Then the bleedings of the double or triple crosses

usually happened on Wednesday and this had the very form <sup>of the cross</sup> of the church in Tübingen.

The scientific account of these matters would of course, be that the knowledge in the minds of stigmatized persons of the nature, size and situation of the wounds on Christ's body could not <sup>merely</sup> create like wounds on the devotees but do it on the very day of the week on which the Saviour was crucified, and make Emmerich's very scars bleed on that Good Friday which <sup>marks</sup> the ecclesiastical commemoration of His <sup>passion and</sup> death and resurrection.

Emmerich's double or triple cross on the breast, not being a reproduction of any wound of Jesus, <sup>but rather one of St Francis</sup> does not bleed on Friday but generally on Wednesday and borrows its peculiar form <sup>from</sup> that of the parish church.



If Emmenich's scar broke out and bled on Good  
 Friday alone of all the <sup>4</sup>Fridays in the year after 1819,  
 then Ann Putnam's intense conviction that a Nurse was  
 a witch might well have <sup>produced</sup> these strange reac-  
 tions upon her body. Hutchinson evidently  
 thinks he is showing up the highest absurdity in saying:  
 "Such was the infatuation, that a child of Sarah Good,  
 about four or five years old, was committed also, being  
 charged with biting some of the afflicted who showed  
 the print of small teeth on <sup>her</sup> their arms." Yet it is  
 no more wonderful that <sup>her</sup> expectancy of being  
 bitten should yield small teeth marks where a  
 child was the <sup>biter</sup> and large teeth marks where the biter  
 was full-grown than there was in Emmenich's  
 cross on her breast-bone being of the precise form of that  
 in Dülmen church.

Another point of resemblance between the sufferers from stigmatization and the victims of witchcraft is that they disclose indubitable marks of being ~~sufferers~~ sufferers from hysteria. We have already found that several of the latter exhibited such symptoms in a very marked degree. The influence of the same physical condition has been shown to be exceedingly probable in St. Francis of Assisi and in Catherine of Siena, and absolutely certain in nun Emmerich. Louise Lateau also discloses, as the statements of Dr. Hammond show, some of the pronounced symptoms of hysterical disease. We have seen also that Emmerich was stated to have successfully distinguished true from false reliquary bones, the wholesome

and unwholesome qualities of plants until then  
 unknown to others, and <sup>have</sup> to revealed things to her  
 confessor which <sup>she</sup> could only have known through  
 inspiration; things which Tholuck thinks to  
 point to mesmeric endowments. One, at least,  
 of the Salem victims of witchcraft might  
 have been her match in one of these traits.  
 In Woodward's Salem Witchcraft Vol. 1. page 123,  
 the following statement is made about Mary Warren:

"She likewise in her fitt in the other room  
 before she had seen Giles Cory in person,  
 charging him with afflicting her, described him  
 in all his garments, both of hat, coat and the  
 colour of them, with a cord about his waist,  
 and a white cap on his head and <sup>in</sup> chains, as sev-  
 erall there in company can affirme."



It also appears that the ecstasies of Louise Lateau and the nun Emmerich illustrate the nature and strengthen the evidence for the reality of the tortures suffered by the bewitched girls. There is the closest correspondence in many remarkable particulars in these strange histories. In the seizures at Salem as well as in the Catholic ecstasies was almost always a loss of consciousness, <sup>so</sup> that the sufferers could not see, hear, feel, speak but were absorbed in transactions not perceptible to men in their normal condition. The eyes would be fixed on vacancy, the <sup>respective</sup> organs of sight and hearing insensible to light or sounds, the muscular system sometimes weak and flaccid at other <sup>times</sup> stiff and inflexible for long periods of time. The saints reported that during these abnormal

enjoyed  
 conditions they visits and communications  
 from St. Roch, St. Theresa, St. Ursula, the  
 Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ, angels and seraphs.  
 The Salern girls had visits <sup>and communications</sup> from witches in  
 their own forms and in the apposition of other  
 parties, from the devil, and from the ghosts of  
 the murdered victims of wizzards. The mes-  
 sages communicated to stigmatized persons by their  
 visitors are sometimes given at great length, while  
 those communicated to the bewitched girls are the  
 "spectral evidence" of the witchcraft trials. The Catho-  
 lic saints showed their stigmatizations as having  
 been impressed upon their bodies during these  
 ecstasies as palpable proofs that their visitors were  
 real beings, the bewitched girls declared that all their  
 dreadful sufferings were the work of their doctordly

visitants, and in some cases showed hurts of a  
 serious nature upon their persons as having this su-  
 pernatural origin. Usually the girls could produce no  
 material implements by which the ~~witches~~ did their work,  
 though in a few cases they could. There is evidence of  
 hysteria in both cases and, in some minds, a con-  
 viction that this has been the source of some, responsible  
 or irresponsible, fraud in a few points. There is also  
 an assertion that the Catholic saints knew and re-  
 vealed things that must have come from a  
 higher source and the afflicted girls stated things  
 that were happening miles away which were  
 afterwards found ~~true~~ <sup>were</sup> true, yet of the same sort  
 that happened to Savonarola and John Wesley.  
 Modern science says that the Catholic faith  
 about the continuance of miracles in the Church



in all ages, <sup>its</sup> assertions that stigmatizations, ecstasies and special revelations may occur to any saint, furnish so reasonable a natural explanation of the facts reported, that they are not to <sup>be</sup> considered miraculous by intelligent scientists. We ask why the once universal faith in witchcraft may not have produced, in strict adherence to the laws of science, all the characteristic phenomena of the ~~witchcraft~~ delusion in Salem?

Mr Upham and others have expressed a degree of surprise that the court should have released Mary Warren in view of the evidence against <sup>her,</sup> and have suffered <sup>her</sup> to testify against <sup>the prisoners</sup> after she had cast doubt on the legal value of all the evidence of the afflicted persons. Yet it must be confessed that the magistrates could hardly have followed any different course without doing violence to the principles on which they acted in all these cases. As the justices acted upon the assumption that neither the devil nor a wizzard could afflict in the person of Mary Warren without obtaining her consent, the aim of <sup>the</sup> law officers in her several examinations was to show <sup>that she had given</sup> her consent. She firmly said "I am innocent." She did

sign a book her master brought her but her signature was not by writing her name in the book but making her mark, then a far more common way of signing documents than in our day. She put her ~~finger~~<sup>wet</sup> with spittle or some cider, on the book, and her touch left a black spot or mark on the book. But she asserted that she did not know that her master was a wizard then or that the book he showed <sup>her</sup> was the devil's book. Her account showed that she <sup>was</sup> cheated into making the mark which was afterwards represented to her as the fateful signature. Her master and mistress asked her to read; and she said the first word she did read was Moses: the next word she could not tell what it was. But her master and mistress <sup>bode her if</sup> she could not pronounce the word she should



touch the book." The court knew that the defendant had in these statements avoided any confession of real signature. The Rev. Mr. Noyes showed this in a question he put to Mary Warren over a later statement of hers, "When she touched the book she went to put her finger to the next line but still her finger went back to the place her finger had blacked. Mr Noyes said she had touched the book twice, and asked her if she did not suspect it to be the devil's book before she touched it the second time." This theory of consent the court did not approve.

This examination has a deal of light thrown on it from a remark of Scodatus Lawson: "They were told that if they would but touch or take hold of the book, it should do; and, lastly, the diabolical propositions were so low and easy that,

if they would but let their clothes or anything about them touch <sup>the book</sup>, they should be at ease from their torments, it being their consent which is aimed at by the devil."

The testimony of Mary Warren was so clear and emphatic that she had not given <sup>consent</sup> any legal to the persuasions of her master and mistress that she should set her hand to the devil's book, that the prosecution could only prove her guilt <sup>directly</sup> by calling John and Elizabeth Proctor to show that their servant, Mary Warren, had succumbed to their entreaties.

But there was little danger that the Proctors would make a declaration which, besides being an absolute contradiction to their sworn denials of the guilt of witchcraft, would surely send them both to the gallows with Mary Warren.

One additional item of proof alone remained against her, the terribly influential <sup>some of</sup> declarations of the afflicted girls that Mary Warren had offered them the devil's book for signature, and had afflicted them on their refusal. This charge was confirmed by the <sup>fact</sup> that before her gaze in court the witnesses were tumbled to the floor in the usual agonies. To this subject her attention was drawn twice by the examiners, first on the 21<sup>st</sup> of April and second during the final examination on the 12<sup>th</sup> of May. On the former occasion, "Being asked whether she had not been instrumental to afflict the afflicted persons?" answered, no; but when she heard they were afflicted in her shape, she began to fear it was the devil. Being asked whether she had images to stick thorns or pins into to hurt people



with, answered, no. She was asked whether the devil  
 never asked her consent to hurt in her shape, an-  
 swered, no. She had heard Master and Mistress tell of  
 images and of sticking of thorns in them to hurt people with.  
 She was asked whether she knew of any images in  
 the house, said, no.

There had been frequent contentions on the  
 part <sup>of</sup> alleged wizzards that the devil and witches  
 could torment their victims in the likeness of  
 persons who had never given their assent to the trans-  
 action but the justices had uniformly main-  
 tained the contrary opinion in their rulings.  
 This is why they recur to the point <sup>much</sup> in questioning Mary Warren.  
 It is interesting to learn that putting Mary  
 Warren on trial had shown her the probability  
 of that idea; and her frankness in declaring her  
 conjecture <sup>that it was the devil</sup> before an unbelieving Court is greatly

to her credit.

On the 12 of May the question was put to her.  
"Was there not your consent to hurt the children?"

No, sir; but when I was afflicted my master Proctor was in the room and said, if you are afflicted, I wish you were more afflicted, you and <sup>all</sup> <sup>and</sup> And one night talking about him, I said I did not care if he were tormented if he charged me."

The thought crossed her mind that possibly her anger had betrayed her into such a consent to the torment of Proctor as the devil might be mean enough to use. Other consent for troubling persons in her opposition she had not given. She confessed that <sup>of Abigail Williams or Ann Putnam</sup> puppets had been brought her by her mistress, and one of ~~Mary~~ Walcott by Ann Putnam, and one of Mercy Lewis by Goody Parker. Into these

she thrust pins and thorns. We must suppose that Mary Warren accompanied these <sup>confessions with her oath</sup> strange, that she did not know who were represented by these puppets; since otherwise <sup>she</sup> would <sup>have</sup> acknowledged that very consent she had so strenuously denied. Such an admission instead of opening her prison doors and putting her on the witness-stand would have cut short her days on Gallows-hill. On the whole, then, the court acted consistently with its general principles in acquitting Mary Warren from the allegation of witchcraft.

Having released her as innocent, the court could <sup>hardly</sup> refuse her testimony because she had <sup>made</sup> once bold to say the afflicted did dissemble or had questioned the value of their and her <sup>own</sup> evidence. The fact that Mary Warren was compelled by



what she knew to explain the evidence presented  
 in court at one moment by distraction and  
 at another by dissimulation shows that one of the  
 best informed persons in the world could not  
 explain everything <sup>to</sup> her own satisfaction. Her  
 statement, several times reiterated, was, "The  
 Magistrates might as well examine Keyser's  
 daughter, that had been distracted many years,  
 and take notice what she said as well as any  
 of the afflicted persons. For, said Mary Warren,  
 when I was afflicted I thought I saw the appar-  
 itions of a hundred <sup>persons</sup>; for she said her head was  
 distempered [so] that she could not tell what she  
 said. And the said Mary told us that when she  
 was well again she could not say that she saw  
 any of the apparitions at the time aforesaid."

This document shows that when Mary Warren <sup>to her sufferings</sup> was in her normal condition she looked back as to something really terrible. How could a sensible <sup>person</sup> <sup>person</sup> of a feigned and factitious condition as people talk of some disease that has spent its rage? Her system was in some way so thoroughly disturbed that she thought she <sup>saw</sup> the appositions of a hundred persons. Her distempered head would not permit her, <sup>to remember</sup> what she said in her paroxysms; and so great was the change when these <sup>fits</sup> were past that she could not then be sure that the earlier apparitions were realities. She thought it quite probable, as she lay in prison, that her own life might <sup>be</sup> cut off on such <sup>wild</sup> evidence. Hence she compared it to the flighty talk of a confirmed maniac.

What explanation Mary Warren made of Betty

Hubbard's assertion that "when Mary was well she said, 'the afflicted' <sup>did</sup> 'but dissemble', we know not. Probably she had asserted that there was some dissimulation woven into the web of their doings, and this had been exaggerated into a charge that the entire web was fraud.

Here again the native fair-mindedness of the girl shows itself. She knew thoroughly all the cleverness in legerdemain the various members of that little group of witnesses had acquired in the meetings at Mr. Parris's house for the acquisition and practice of such arts. She knew that pins thrust into people's hands and the snatching of things like an iron spindle out of a specter's hand and the binding people with wheel-bands and suspending of pinioned witnesses upon hooks were the work of fingers too substantial to be ghostly. This



sort of thing she had probably seen performed as feats of natural magic. When she saw it produced before the court as supernatural she said that this pretence was a dissimulation.

We have now seen the <sup>probable</sup> extent to which fraud and deceit played their part in <sup>the</sup> scenes of the Salem witchcraft. Would it be wise to draw the conclusion that the whole business <sup>was</sup> fraudulent, because certain portions of it <sup>apparently</sup> were? Perhaps when we put everything together it will seem most wonderful that the <sup>evident</sup> share of trickery was <sup>so</sup> slight. Consider the fact that these persons had been employing the hours of their meetings at the residence of Rev. Mr. Parris in learning feats of legerdemain and magic, and that some of them had won no small ability in such dubious arts, and we shall certainly not be surprised at finding

the little we have found. Two of these witnesses were twenty  
 years old, two eighteen, three seventeen, one twelve, one  
 eleven, and one nine. If such a juvenile band of ac-  
 tors in such <sup>a</sup> tragedy had entirely refrained from  
 familiar tricks and frauds, it would have very ~~unnatural~~ <sup>frank</sup> natural. Only one  
 of the four oldest witnesses had any hand in these <sup>frank</sup> transactions.

There is another point of view from which the necessity of adopting the broader, and more humane as well as more scientific theory of the condition of mind under which these strange deeds were performed, shows itself with great impressiveness. Unless the actors were under the spell of some such potent delusion we should be forced to charge them with the conscious guilt <sup>of</sup> accusing many most excellent people of the most horrible murders. These crimes were alleged to have been made known to the afflicted persons sometimes through the boastful criminals <sup>themselves</sup> and sometimes through the accusing ghosts of the slaughtered victims.

Can we conceive that this band of young people invented these terrible fictions, supported them with unflinching firmness be-



fore the courts, saw people condemned by the  
 hundred and executed by the score ~~on~~ perjured ev-  
 idence, without <sup>ever showing</sup> the slightest sign of personal con-  
 trition? The witnesses never confessed such dread-  
 ful secrets in any hour of moral depression or of  
 spiritual anxiety nor has any letter or other trust-  
 worthy memorial so much as hinted at the ex-  
 istence of such a hideous mystery to later times.

Only one participant in those accusations is  
 known to have left a written reference to ~~them~~ <sup>on</sup> record.  
 When Ann Putnam jr, after the lapse of fourteen  
 years, wished to unite with the Congregational  
 Church at Salem Farms, she desired to make a con-  
 fession or statement concerning <sup>her</sup> share in the scenes  
 of the witchcraft delusion. This statement was pub-  
 lished to the son of Rebecca Nurse as a natural

representative of the families which had suffered injustice and infamous punishment. To him it appeared satisfactory. It was read before the church by Rev. Joseph Green on the 25<sup>th</sup> of August 1706, and was publicly acknowledged by Ann Putnam as she stood <sup>of the document</sup> in her place during the reading. The same <sup>day</sup> Ann Putnam was admitted to the fellowship of the church.

The evening before, this statement had been entered on the records of the church and authenticated by the signature of Ann Putnam. Its terms are:

"I desire to be humbled before God for that sad and humbling <sup>providence</sup> that befell my father's family in the year about '92; that I, being then in my childhood, should, by such a providence of God, be made an instrument for the accusing of several persons of a grievous crime, whom now I have just grounds

and good reason to believe they were innocent persons;  
 and that it was a great delusion of Satan that deceived  
 me in that sad time, whereby I justly fear that I have been  
 instrumental with others, though ignorantly and un-  
 wittingly, to bring upon myself and this land the guilt  
 of innocent blood; though what was done by me a-  
 gainst any person, I can truly and uprightly say be-  
 fore God and man, I did it not out of anger, ma-  
 lice or ill-will to any person, for I had no such thing a-  
 gainst one of them; but what I did was ignorantly, being  
 deluded by Satan. And particularly, as I was a chief  
 instrument of accusing Goodwife Nurse and her  
 two sisters, I desire to lie in the dust, and <sup>to</sup> be humbled for  
 it, in that I was <sup>a cause</sup> with others, of so sad a calamity to them  
 and their families; for which cause, I desire to lie in the  
 dust, and earnestly beg forgiveness of God, and from all



those unto whom I have <sup>given</sup> just cause of sorrow and offense, whose relations were taken away or accused.

a true Putnam.  
Upham, vol. II. 510.

The statement covers in a succinct way the share Ann Putnam had in the trials as a witness in the conviction and punishment of the persons named for witchcraft, and made such expressions of sorrow and petitions for pardon from God and men as were deemed satisfactory. But she affirmed that she had been <sup>moved by</sup> a Satanic delusion in such conduct, that she did not then perceive the true nature of her share in those sad events, that she was free in the sight of God and man from personal anger, malice, or ill-will towards all the accused, but was under diabolical delusion. That Ann Putnam was as much puzzled over the tragedy as Mary Warren is plain, for both confessed doubt and misgiving, not malice and false swearing. Upon the theory of the witchcraft delusions set forth in this paper, Ann Putnam's statements

are all credible and conformed to the known facts.  
 who thinks the Salem witchcrafts <sup>or mainly</sup> purely fraudulent, and  
 But any person, who has traced her career as a  
 swift witness against eighteen persons charged with  
 the <sup>most</sup> hideous and perilous offence then known to crim-  
 inal law, and recalled her assertions that the spectres  
 had revealed to her the knowledge of five murders  
 committed and concealed by the accused, can only  
 regard her confessions as well as her profession of faith  
 as further manifestations of an unperallied de-  
 pravity. Nine years later in her will, made in  
 a state of health which forbade a near dissolution,  
 Ann Putnam says, "I recommend my spirit  
 into the hands of God through Jesus Christ my  
 Redeemer, with whom I hope to live forever."

Let us hope that Ann Putnam has realised her  
 humble petitions for forgiveness at the hands of all whom she

had offended on earth, and that she has long known  
the felicity of eternal life with Jesus Christ her Saviour.

If any think it wiser to hold that Ann Putnam  
was one of a company who wove the blood-stained web  
of the witchcraft delusions and executions at Salem  
out of more conscious delusions <sup>and deceptions</sup>, let us hope that  
most men will prefer the more humane verdict  
suggested by modern science as also more in ac-  
cordance with historical probability. Lucrecia  
Borgia's last biographer has shown that even this mis-  
act of evil reputation never deserved the load of infamy  
which historians and poets at a pinch for some incarnation of  
feminine wickedness, have erudently cast upon her shoulders.  
Shall future authors in quest of evil coloring come  
to the Puritan New England <sup>of 1692,</sup> and find a dozen real Bor-  
gias in room of the fictitious one from the Rome of the



worst period of the papacy, the Rome of Caesar Borgia and  
Alexander VI.<sup>2</sup>

The history of the world has not very often exhibited a company of sufferers more worthy of our profoundest commiseration than the poor company who suffered from the perjuries of wicked or the mistakes of misguided witnesses, from the passion and errors of judges and juries, and <sup>from</sup> the prejudices of Christian ministers, on the crest of Witch-hires. They were, with one or two exceptions, the very best people in those communities. One of them had been a faithful and self-denying pastor of the Salem Fours and other churches. The very choicest of his former parishioners were under the same awful accusations, shut up in the same prison, subject to the same fearful revilings and railings, anticipating the same <sup>ecclesiastical</sup> excommunication, and awaiting the same dishonored death as

The finest testimony to the ~~so~~ personal character of the victims on ~~Witch~~ <sup>bill</sup> is found in the fact that every one of them might have escaped that hideous doom by confessing that he was a witch. If any were tempted by such a prospect to acknowledge their guilt, every such confession was at once withdrawn. That little knot of supposed criminals knew that nothing could be more welcome to the authorities than such a confession, yet not one of them would purchase deliverance <sup>from the scaffold</sup> at the expense of truth and honor.

One needs only to read the evidence of most of these people to see that they were thorough bred saints. They were by temperament and long habit of the silent and meditative <sup>order</sup> of the saints of Jesus Christ. It may be doubted whether a less <sup>stem</sup> compulsion



than the plain duty of asserting their personal integrity in order to prove their lives, could have brought many of them to say what is said in these affidavits concerning their Christian purposes and lives. The answer of Mary Bradbury to the charge of witchcraft touches our feelings through its noble ingenuousness:

"I plead not guilty. I am wholly innocent of any such wickedness, through the goodness of God which hath kept me hitherto. I am the servant of Jesus Christ and have given myself up to him as my only Lord and Saviour, and to the diligent attendance upon him in all his holy ordinances, in utter contempt and defiance of the Devil and all his works as horrid and detestable, and, accordingly have endeavored to frame my conversation according to the rules of his holy word; and, in that faith

and practice, resolve, by the help and assistance of God, to continue to my life's end.

For the truth of what I say, as to matter of practice, I humbly refer myself to my brethren and neighbors that know me, and unto the Searcher of hearts for the truth and uprightness of my heart herein (human frailties and <sup>unavoidable</sup> infirmities excepted, of which I bitterly complain every day).  
J. Woodworth, vol. II, page 162.

Her husband, Thomas Brodway, her pastor, Rev. James Allin, and one hundred and seventeen of the neighbors speak in the strongest terms of her as a Christian <sup>and</sup> neighbor. She was pious, peaceable, "full of works of charity and mercy to the sick and poor... ready and willing to do for them what lay in her power night and day, though with hazard of her health, or other danger". Like Mary Ann.

bury in Christian character were the greater part  
 of the victims on Witch<sup>-hill</sup>. Nothing but the  
 inveterate prejudices of a whole community  
 could have hindered the universal recognition  
 of the serene courage and ~~un~~wavering faith shown  
 by these true martyrs in prison and on the gallows.  
 They were in a very large degree <sup>freed</sup> from bitter com-  
 plaints against the witnesses, jurors and justices by  
 whom they had been condemned, through their  
 personal faith in the possibility of witchcraft, through  
 their conviction that devils and witches might afflict  
 others under their guise, and that the general hostility to  
 them was founded on sincere delusions. The evidence  
 against them they regarded as <sup>mainly</sup> sincere but ill-founded,  
 and as sure to be shown untrue in the day of  
 Judgement. Some of the prisoners seeing that no



respite was probable for themselves were anxious to do something to protect the colony from the guilt of innocent blood, and shield others from any such storm of falsehood and delusion as had assailed them. The petition addressed by Mary Easty to the Governor, the magistrates and the ministers, is an exhibition of this self-forgetting and vicarious love.

"Whereas your poor and humble petitioner, being condemned to die, knowing my own innocence, blessed be the Lord for it, and seeing the wiles and subtlety of my accusers by myself, cannot but judge charitably of others that are going the same way with myself, if the Lord steps not mightily in.... The Lord above knows my innocence... as at the great day will be known to men and angels. I petition to your Honours, not for my own life, for I know I

must die and my time is set; but the Lord knows it is that, if possible, no more innocent blood be shed, which undoubtedly cannot be avoided in the way you go. I question not but your Honours..... would not be guilty of innocent blood for the world. But by my own innocency, I know you are in a wrong way. The Lord in his infinite mercy direct you in this great work, if it be His blessed will, that no more innocent blood be shed....

They say myself and others having made a league with the devil, cannot confess. I know, and the Lord knows, as will shortly appear, they believe me. And so, I question not they do others. The Lord above who is the Searcher of all hearts knows, as I shall answer it at the Tribunal seat, I know not the least thing of witchcraft. Therefore I cannot

do not belie my own soul. I beg your Honours  
not to deny this humble petition from a poor,  
dying, innocent person". Woodward's Salem Witchcraft" page 44.

That such excellent people should have been  
executed despite their Christian profession, their  
unblemished and charitable lives, shows <sup>how</sup> ~~dis~~ingful  
was <sup>the</sup> hold of the witch-superstition on the public.

If Salem had another band of men of  
such superior sense and goodness, after there had  
been executed an ~~Witch~~-~~kill~~, she was sorely fortunate  
in them. Yet such was the cloud of evil fame  
that hung over them that few pitied and fewer hon-  
ored them as they went under ignominious mockeries  
to a felon's death. Some ministers refused to pray  
with them unless they would confess their guilt, and one  
parson spoke of their lifeless bodies swaying in



the wind as so many fire brands of hell.

But it should be said that it was not an easy matter to do anything effectual in aid of persons lying under a charge <sup>of</sup> witchcraft. People were ready enough to testify to the former good character and blameless lives of the accused. Such evidence was well received in court; only it was soon felt that it would not weigh a feather against the "spectral evidence." Yet it was often produced in the hope that it <sup>might</sup> control the magistrates. Although it was soon perceived that such efforts were more likely to injure the makers thereof than benefit persons on trial, they were repeatedly renewed. We have a touching picture of a devotion such as few many a husband to the peril of his life <sup>at that period</sup> in Captain Cary's account of the examination of his wife Elizabeth:

She was forced to stand with her arms stretched out. I requested that I might hold one of her hands, but it was denied me; then she desired me to wipe the tears from her eyes and the sweat from her face, which I did; then she desired she might lean herself on me, saying she should faint. Justice Hawthorne said she had strength enough to torment three persons, and she should have strength enough to stand. I speaking somewhat against their cruel proceedings, they commanded me to be silent, or I should be turned out of the room.

Such devotion of friends was just as powerful as their own excellence of conduct to rescue the poor prisoners from their unhappy end.

Do you ask when the providence of God was seen in relation to these illustrious criminals?

The providence of God over them was seen in most gracious exercise when they were emboldened to maintain their own innocence, and enabled to die rather than accept the swift deliverance a lie would have brought them. Thus has a star-like radiance gathered upon each head in that martyr-band.

And what a shining example of the same sleepless providence was it which joined in one and the same death with these slain saints the ugly <sup>nightmare</sup> hag which rode them to their death, the witchcraft delusion of New England! Who amongst <sup>fallen off</sup> them would have given back, had he foreseen this fruit of this war? For these executions brought to multitudes the reflections which Mr Longfellow would have us think the <sup>death of Giles Cory</sup> brought to sadly misrepresented Cotton Mather.



O sight most horrible! In a land like this  
 Spangled with Churches Evangelical,  
 Enwrapped in our salvations, must we seek  
 In mouldering statute-books of English Courts  
 Some old forgotten Law to do such deeds?  
 Those who lie buried in the Potter's Field  
 Will rise again as surely as ourselves  
 That sleep in honored graves with epitaphs;  
 And this poor man whom we have made a victim  
 Hereafter will be counted as a martyr.

Christus, New England Tragedies III., page 178.